Ethnic Identification Preferences among Germany's Immigrants and their Descendents: a Comprehensive Perspective

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To Yotam, my firstborn

ליותם, בני הבכור

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1. Introduction

Although immigration is not a new social phenomenon, it still maintains a central role in social research. This is due to the challenges immigration still poses both to immigration receiving societies and to immigrants (Joppke 1998). From the perspective of the receiving society, immigration requires the distribution of a limited set of resources among an increasing number of individuals. It is also associated with the contestation of the boundaries of the national unit, and its cohesiveness. These challenges are apparent from studies pointing out the material and cultural perceptions of threat immigrants invoke among members of immigrant receiving societies (Raijman et al. 2008; Raijman and Hochman 2010).

From the perspective of the immigrants, immigration is also associated with both material and socio-psychological pressures. The central role of the materialistic aspirations motivating immigration entails immigrants to engage in efforts to maximize the material utilities gained from it. Immigrants are thus required to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them in their immigration destination. Since the opportunities available for the immigrants in the receiving society depend on specific resources, this task involves many challenges associated with the accumulation of such resources (Esser 2003).

The move into a new country and society also requires immigrants to go through radical or only moderate cultural, social and psychological adjustments. These adjustments are connected with the immigrants' increasing uncertainties about their social and psychological characteristics, which were considered clear and factual before immigration. The immigrants' encounter with the new environment, in which different social rules of conduct are applied, and different behaviors are expected, requires them to reconfigure their self-concepts, and make them fit new social contexts and their behaviors within them. This dissertation is focused on this later challenge of immigration, and specifically on its consequences to immigrants' ethnic identifications.

The importance of the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants, and immigrant descendents, to integration research, derives from their association with other changes individual immigrants experience in their integration, and with the consequences of immigration for receiving societies. Firstly, integration theories expect to find interrelations between immigrants' structural and socio-cultural as well as psychological integration (e.g. Gordon 1964; Park 1950; Price 1969). Secondly, these individual dimensions of integration, are all expected to play an important role shaping the structure of the receiving society and determining its ability to face the challenges of immigration. To the contrary, the structural characteristics of the receiving society are also important determinants of

the individual immigrants' integration (Alba and Nee 1999; Esser 2001a; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.44-69).

1.1 The German context

The main theories developed to explain immigration and its consequences, originate from the classical immigration states, like the US, Canada, and Australia. However in recent years, they are increasingly applied to the case of Germany and other European countries (Diehl and Schnell 2006; Thomson and Crul 2007). The immigration of immigration research into the European context is associated with the fact that large scale immigration waves represent a relatively new phenomenon in Europe, where their consequences are still processed and contested. This dissertation focuses exclusively on the case of Germany.

Although integration research in Germany has advanced greatly in the last three decades, it has been focusing primarily on the structural integration of first and also to some extent second generation immigrants (e.g. Kalter 2006; Kalter and Granato 2002; Seibert and Solga 2005). The issue of ethnic identification is, to date, understudied in the German context. Although some studies were conducted on the topic, these studies have left many important aspects of the integration process unattended. For example, most studies focus either solely on the first immigrant generation (Constant et al. 2007; Leibold 2006; Zimmermann et al. 2007b), or solely on adolescent second generation immigrants (Helbig 2006).

Considering that Germany acknowledged its role as an immigration receiving country only in the late 1990s, it actually serves as a particularly interesting site for the investigation of immigrants' ethnic identification. Specifically, Germany remains to date undecided regarding its expectations from its increasing foreign population in this regard. On the policy level Germany has recently transformed its jus sanguinis based membership principle into a jus solis based one. In this way, the formal definition of 'who is German' was widened to include also individuals who were not born into this in-group.

On the civic level, Germany is still witnessing strong resentment to its increasingly multicultural nature. For example, in May 2010, Spiegel online has published that a study conducted in Germany by the INFO public opinion research institute, reports every fifth German person to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants (Schulz 2010). Similarly, in a comparative study on attitudes towards immigrants, Raijman et al. (2008) found that mean levels of negative threat attitudes among Germans were higher than those found among French, American or Israeli respondents.

Apparently, while at the policy level, the membership of immigrants in the German society is welcomed, society itself is still not willing to accept it. What are the consequences of this complex

context to the ethnic identification of immigrants and immigrants' descendents in Germany? How do these individuals self-identify and what are the factors determining this choice? My dissertation is aimed to provide an answer to these questions.

1.2 Ethnic identification and integration

Immigrants' ethnic identifications are among the main markers of their psychological integration (Noro 2009; Plax 1972). This aspect of immigrants' self-concepts is particularly contested because immigration puts conflicting pressures on it. On the one hand, the weakening association of immigrants with their ethnic origin, demarcated often by their membership in a national unit, and their residency within its boundaries is predicted to decrease its salience in their self-concept (Isaac 1989). On the other hand, it has also been proposed that the salience of immigrants' identification with their ethnic origin actually gains in strength after immigration because of the central role their different background plays in demarcating the boundaries between the immigrants and the members of the receiving society (Hill and Schnell 1990).

Immigrants' identification with their ethnic origin is not the only aspect of their ethnic identification being challenged by their integration. Because of their role as boundary mechanisms, ethnic identifications also determine one's access to certain goods and resources, and demarcate one's structural position (Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Hill and Schnell 1990; Zimmer 2003). Identification with the receiving group may in this regard be beneficial for the immigrants. Yet, even though opting for identification with the receiving society entails many advantages, both material and psychological, it may also be extremely challenging. Considerable cultural differences between the groups may render membership in both at the same time, impossible. Replacing one's identification with its original ethnic group with identification with the receiving society, may lead to psychological and social marginalization (Berry 1990). The process of immigration therefore brings to the fore conflicts regarding both immigrants' identification with their origin ethnic group, and their identification with the receiving society (see e.g. Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh 2001).

This dissertation explains immigrants' ethnic identification preferences within the two dimensional space found between their identification with their ethnic origin and their identification with the receiving society (Berry 1997; Rudmin 2003). It specifically seeks to uncover the consequences of the strategies immigrants adopt to deal with the pressures associated with each of these two dimensions, to the final 'balance' they find between them.

Most studies acknowledging the two dimensional nature of ethnic identification, asked their respondents to simply state with which group they identify or how they define themselves in ethnic

terms (Phinney et al. 2001a; Rumbaut 1994). Such inquiries do not convey much about the process of change the respondents experience in their minority or dominant group identifications. Asking respondents to refer only to one of the two components of their ethnic identification (Ethier and Deaux 1994), or postulating the question as a linear construct ranging between minority or dominant group identification is also problematic from this point of view. These inquiries all aim at the final 'balance' and do not provide insight into how it is achieved.

Separating the causal mechanisms behind the relationships between the different empirical conditions immigrants face in their integration, and their ethnic minority on the one hand, and dominant group identification on the other hand, I attempt to narrow this gap. This task is important also from a more general perspective as it provides specific and testable causal associations between the different characteristics of immigrants' integration and their ethnic identification preferences marked as one of the existing gaps in integration research (Esser 2003; Tubergen 2004). Only once the separated paths are cleared, I proceed to explain their common outcomes, formed by the balance individuals find between their identification with their ethnic origin, and with the receiving society.

These outcomes are described in the literature to represent four ethnic identification types: assimilation represents an individual's strong identification with the dominant group in the receiving society and its weak identification with its own ethnic origin group; separation represents an individual's strong identification with its own ethnic origin group and its weak identification with the dominant group in the receiving society; marginalization, represents a weak identification with both groups; and finally, multiple-inclusion (more commonly known as integration) represent the individual's strong identification with both groups (Berry 1997).

1.3 The theoretical approach of the dissertation

In this dissertation I propose to view the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents, as based on a simple investment model aimed to maximize certain utilities. The causal paths associating the different integration related characteristics of the immigrants and their descendents with their ethnic identification preferences are thus defined within the framework of the subjective expected utility theory. This framework requires however clear and specific postulations of the mechanisms through which these characteristics contribute to the formation of the ethnic identification preferences. These specific mechanisms are in turn derived from the three main perspectives on social identity, developed within sociology and social psychology: social identity theory, identity theory and the developmental approach to identity.

Proposing such a framework, I go beyond most sociological accounts that typically limit themselves to one of them, most notably, the social identity theory or symbolic interactionisms' identity theory (Becker 2009; Cassidy and Trew 2001; Clément et al. 2006; see e.g. Ethier and Deaux 1994; Piontkowski et al. 2000; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191; Sears et al. 2003). One rare exception in this regard is the work of Lubbers and her colleagues who refer to both these perspectives in their theoretical framework (Lubbers et al. 2007).

The conceptualization of ethnic identity as utility based is not new (see e.g. Burgess 1978). It understands membership in or identification with a certain group as associated with access to certain goods. These goods represent both material and psychological utilities related with the intra and inter individual as well as intergroup circumstances individuals' experience in their everyday lives. Considering the relations between these circumstances and individuals' preferences, the subjective expected utility model goes beyond describing the structural constraints the former places upon the later and presents the logic, or the mechanisms, behind them (Hechter 1986).

Rational choice, additionally accounts for the dynamic nature of ethnic and other forms of social identification acknowledged by most scholars in the field (see e.g. Barth 1969; Sherif and Sherif 1969). Assuming that individuals seek to maximize the utilities of their ethnic identification, this framework underlines the factors changing the utility related expectations of individuals, thus providing an understanding of their changing preferences (Hechter 1986). These changing preferences reflect the main reasons for changes observed in the social, and specifically the ethnic identifications individuals hold, and use. Finally, the rational choice perspective also provides a general framework on which different social and psychological theories of social identity, converge.

The relevance of rational choice and of the subjective expected utility model variant of it, for the explanation of ethnic identification stems from two main origins. First, it is commonly acknowledged that social identities and ethnic identities among them are strongly determined by their potential gains to the individual, in terms of the maintenance of a positive and coherent self-concept. Second, the process of identity formation is also associated with more general social learning processes which in turn are also relying, as I demonstrate, on a consideration of expected utilities.

1.4 The methodological approach of the dissertation

The methodological contributions of this dissertation rely primarily on the longitudinal nature of the data used to test the theoretical model it suggests, and the advanced methods applied to these data. By taking a 'snap shot' of the immigrants' ethnic identifications using cross-sectional surveys, most of the studies conducted thus far failed to determine the factors contributing to changes individuals

experience in their ethnic identifications over time. The information they deliver is therefore of little use if we seek to reach an understanding of the interrelations between the different integration dimensions and the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents. Understanding how such changes occur is in this respect more helpful. Using a longitudinal survey (the German socioeconomic panel) and an advanced method that allows an estimation of 'within individual' changes, I provide more insightful information regarding these processes, narrowing another significant gap in the literature (Pahl and Way 2006; Verkuyten and Reijerse 2008).

The data provided in the German socioeconomic panel (GSOEP), has additional advantages in terms of advancing current knowledge on ethnic identification preferences among immigrants. Providing information (although partial in nature) on the second immigrant generation, it allows an intergenerational comparison. Including immigrants from different origins, it also provides a setting for a comparison between different ethnic groups, also distinguished as highly beneficial in the context of immigration and integration research (see e.g. Thomson and Crul 2007).

Sampling primarily individuals who are 16 or older, the GSOEP additionally grants an opportunity to go beyond the many studies focusing on immigrant youth (e.g. Liebkind et al. 2004; Rumbaut 1994; Skrobaneck 2009). Although adolescence is recognized as a crucial time for the formation of self-concepts and among them also ethnic identifications, a growing number of researchers has acknowledge that adults also adjust their ethnic identifications. Such adjustments are primarily related with contextual changes they experience (Burke and Cast 1997; Hogg and Mullin 1999).

This sampling frame of the GSOEP also makes it possible to explore a particular stage in the individuals' psychological development, namely emerging adulthood, and its consequences for their ethnic identification preferences. This period and specific events occurring within in are increasingly conceived of as equally if not more significant for processes of ethnic identification formation than transitions associated with adolescence (Schwartz et al. 2005; Syed and Azmitia 2009). Associations between life-course related events and ethnic identification remain to date understudied. Additionally, those few studies that do refer to them are limited to college students representing a highly selective group of immigrants (e.g. Ethier and Deaux 1990; Syed and Azmitia 2009).

1.5 Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation proceeds as follows: In the next two chapters I discuss the main theoretical perspectives on which the theoretical model is based. These include both social-psychological theories of social identity formation, and integration related theories. Chapter 2 shortly discusses the concept of ethnic identification which is the main dependent variable studied in the dissertation. It than proceeds

to discuss the main three perspectives used within the social sciences to explain its emergences: the social identity perspective including the social identity and the self-categorization theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986), symbolic interactionisms' identity theory (Stryker and Serpe 1982), and the developmental approach to social identity that primarily builds on Erikson's identity development theory (Erikson 1959).

Chapter 3 introduces the reader into the context of immigration and immigrants' integration within which this dissertation is located. The chapter opens with a brief overview of the main perspectives explaining contemporary immigration in general. It then proceeds to discuss the main perspectives to the explanation of the integration process and the central points of dispute between them. The last part of chapter 3 is oriented more specifically to the process of acculturation, that relates to the more socio-cultural and psychological dimensions of integration. This section discusses the structure of ethnic identification, as it was developed in inter-cultural research and specifically in the context of immigrants' integration.

Once these building blocks are firmly in place, I move on to present the theoretical model. Chapter 4 opens with a short overview of what has been achieved in the study of ethnic identification thus far, and what is yet to be studied. Once the state of the art is discussed, I proceed to suggest my own strategy for further advancing current knowledge. Building on Esser's (2003) intergenerational theory of integration, I propose to use a variant of rational choice theory, namely the subjective expected utility model, to present a more complete and overarching theoretical model for the formation and change of ethnic identifications preferences within the integration process.

Chapter 4 thus specifies an investment model in which an investment in identification with the ethnic minority or the dominant (German) group is conceptualized as a function of its potential utilities. First, I return to the social-psychological perspectives in order to specify the determinants of this expected utility. Then I integrate the different conditions characteristic of the integration process to create the contextual background in which they operate.

The location of this dissertation within the German context requires also some understanding of its historical, political and social characteristics, to which I attend in chapter 5. Here, I give a short review of the history of immigration into Germany. The chapter also discusses the legal status of immigrants, and the way they are treated by members of the receiving society, understood to be important for their individual ethnic identification preferences and their integration more generally (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.44-69).

Although the analyses conducted within this dissertation all rely on the same data set, I divided its empirical section into four different parts, each part is oriented towards a specific theoretical goal and makes somewhat different use of the data. In chapter 6, I first present the data set used for the analysis, its advantages, and its limitations. These will serve the background for the rest of the empirical chapters as well. Once the operationalization of the different concepts presented in the theoretical model is done, I turn to specify my hypotheses regarding the respondents' German, and ethnic minority identification levels. Chapter 6 is thus directed to empirically test the propositions made in the theoretical model regarding the two different ethnic identifications.

Chapters 7 and 8 still discuss the respondents' ethnic minority and German identification separately, seeking to uncover interrelations between their different determinants, using interactions. The contribution of these chapters is not only exploratory in nature, but also of theoretical significance, as it provides an indirect test for the theoretical paths discussed in the theoretical model.

The empirical analyses conducted in these three chapters, provide support for the suggested socio-psychological associations between the different dimensions of integration and ethnic identification. On the one hand, ethnic minority identification is weakening over time in light of structural and socio-cultural adjustments associated with both individuals' changing practices, and their need to maintain a positive self-concept. On the other, identification with the dominant cultural group is found to increase given the same conditions. Importantly though, the two processes do not always represent a zero sum game logic. Instead, testifying for the two dimensional understanding of ethnic identification (see Berry 1997; Glaser 1958), some changes and properties are found to promote change only in one of the two.

Once the propositions regarding the respondents' German and ethnic minority ethnic identifications are tested, I move on, in chapter 9, to estimate their joint outcomes in terms of the fourfold typology of acculturation. This chapter re conceptualizes the dependent variables to represent the four types of ethnic identification suggested in the two dimensional understanding of ethnic identification: assimilation, separation, multiple-inclusion and marginalization. It suggests a new set of hypotheses oriented to explain which of the four is preferable, for which individual. More specifically, based on the former three chapters, my aim here is to draw a clear map of the relative attractiveness of the each ethnic identity type, compared to the others.

The findings discussed in chapter 9 further support my theoretical model and specifically the understanding of the four ethnic identification types, as outcomes of the respondents' need to combine between their German and ethnic minority identifications. Specifically they confirm that the

preferences of the respondents between the different ethnic identification types strongly depend on the relative utilities they may gain from either of them.

The final empirical chapter (chapter 10), is targeting the life course related propositions made in this dissertation, focusing on emerging adult immigrants' move out of their parents' home. While building on the same theoretical model discussed above, this chapter sets to study a relatively specific process that is only relevant for a selective sub sample of my respondents. It is also rather specialized in scope as it sets to determine the potential contribution of a very specific variable, to the respondents' ethnic identification preferences.

This chapters' main finding once again demonstrates the importance of separating between the respondents' German identification, and their identification with their own ethnic group. In fact, the chapter reveals that leaving the parents' home is associated only with the former, and has no consequences for the later. The chapter additionally supports my utility based understanding of ethnic identification. It demonstrates that leaving home increases German identification, only among those individuals for whom this identification is associated with higher utilities.

The dissertation closes with a general concluding chapter, where the connections between all the different findings are made. This final chapter also presents the limitations of this dissertation, its main contributions to immigration research, and its potential policy related implications.

2. Ethnic Identities and Social Categories

This dissertation project seeks to explain the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants, and their descendents. In this chapter, I will therefore first clarify the concept of ethnic identification, and discuss its relevance for the study of immigrants' integration. Understanding ethnic identification as a form of social identification, a second task of this chapter is to present the main theoretical perspectives discussing the emergence of social identifications. These perspectives will play a central role in the construction of the theoretical model I propose for the explanation of ethnic identification preferences among immigrants and their descendents.

2.1 Ethnic groups as social categories

Ethnic groups are still among the more common forms in which individuals categorize. Although some scholars predicted that their role will diminish (e.g. Soysal 1994), looking back on the first decade of the 21st century, one must conclude that ethnic groups and ethnic identifications are still central for individuals' self-conceptualizations. Some examples for the consequences of the strong hold of ethnic identifications in contemporary time may be found in the French riots that took place in the suburbs of Paris in 2005, or in the increasingly visible xenophobia accompanying the recent electoral campaigns in Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Ethnicity and race are continuing to determine the destinies of many outside Europe as well, as was the case in Sri-Lanka, and still is the case in many regions in Africa. Of course, while many of the ethnic related cleavages in Europe can be directly associated with the large number of immigrants residing within it, in other parts of the world, they are typically related with other reasons.

The association between immigration, integration and ethnic identification is rather obvious given that immigration is probably the most prevalent occurrence in western nation states in which ethnic, racial or other cultural groups meet and are forced to adjust to one another. This encounter also explains why ethnic or racial categories and identities are predicted to be relatively salient in the self-concepts of integrating individuals, primarily among the immigrants, but also among members of the receiving society (Berry et al. 2002; Hill and Schnell 1990; Lam and Smith 2009; Min and Kim 2009; Plax 1972).

Esser (2001a) proposes to view ethnic identification in the context of integration, as the emotional and cognitive relationship between a single actor and the social system, represented in the context of integration by the receiving society, which transforms the individual to a member of a collective. This collective membership expresses itself through the production of a sense of a 'we' feeling, or a

feelings of national pride, defining the individual's relation towards other members of the receiving society's group.

Esser (2001a) suggests that while immigrants' attachment to the receiving society's culture or their identification with it may increase as their integration proceeds, this is not always the case. Some immigrants do not experience such a change and remain solely attached to their ethnic minority, marked by ethnic, national or racial boundaries. An individual's identification either with its ethnic minority, or with the dominant majority, was defined as its "subjective sense of belonging to a group or culture" (Phinney et al. 2001a: p.495). However, before discussing the emergence of such a sense of belonging, it is important to understand how ethnic groups come to be, and what they represent.

An ethnic group is demarcated internally through self-assertion or self-categorization of individuals into a group. Alternatively, it may be demarcated externally through individuals' assignment by others into a group. Whether self asserted or assigned, ethnic group membership is understood to represent the sharing of a common culture or language, a common phenotype, common religion, or kinship, or a common geographic origin (Phinney et al. 2001a; Weber and Winckelmann 1972).

Importantly, while some of these properties are ascriptive, they may represent actual as well as imagined ascription. A kinship claim for example, can be real, but it can also be imagined. Individuals can therefore become members of an ethnic group even if they were not truly 'born' into it, through the adoption of specific properties, or through external ascription (Cornell and Hartmann 2007).

Ethnic identifications are often used in conjecture with racial identifications (Golash-Boza 2006; Jensen et al. 2006; Padila and Perez 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191). Park (1950), for example referred to Italian and Jewish immigrants in the US as racial groups. These different terms share however a lot in common and their interchangeable use derives from the fact that in many cases the racial and ethnic boundaries of a group overlap. For example, an individual that is externally assigned to a racial group may also understand its group membership to be associated with the culture, religion or kin shared by members of this racial group. In this manner, the racial group this individual is assigned to also represents the ethnic group with which it identifies. In this context, it is useful to refer to African Americans, who while being racially distinctive from the white dominant group, also share a common origin and history, and a common culture, and self-categorize as an ethnic group (Cornell and Hartmann 2007).

Ethnic identifications also have a lot in common with nationality. However there seem to be some disagreement about the extent to which these concepts can be used interchangeably. Calhoun, maintains that nationalism "involves a distinctive new form of group identity or membership", which

requires different boundaries than those demarcated in the primordial ethnicity (Calhoun 1993: p.229). Other scholars however seem to have a different opinion. Smith (1991a) for example proposed to view a national group as an ethnic group which also shares a common territory over which it aspires to have, or already has political sovereignty. His understanding of a national group is thus not too distant from that proposed by Weber (1972). This understanding of ethnicity which encompasses also the national group is also promoted by Wimmer (2008). Given its more widespread acceptance, this dissertation embraces the later understanding of the relations between ethnic and national groups.

Within the German context, the most frequently used term for discussing immigrants' ethnic identification is 'ethnic self-identification' (Costant and Zimmermann 2007; Esser 1986; Esser 2009; Zimmermann et al. 2007a; Zimmermann et al. 2007b). The reference to the German identification as an ethnic and not a national one may be related to the cultural and historical construction of the German national unit.

National membership in Germany relies strongly on an ethno-cultural component. The strong role ethnicity plays in the German conceptualization of membership, is practiced for example by the privileged status of ethnic German immigrants, compared to other immigrants, in terms of naturalization. Another way in which policy makers try to maintain this strong association is through the requirement that naturalization applicants will renounce their former nationality. This requirement makes the naturalization applicants' original national identity incompatible with the German one.[1]

The use I make throughout this dissertation of the concept 'ethnic identification' assumes that both the respondents' identification with their ethnic origin, and with the receiving society represent ethnic categories. This approach differs slightly from other studied where identification with the ethnic minority is discussed as an ethnic identification, and identification with the majority group is defined as a national identification (see e.g. Phinney et al. 2001b). As suggested before, a national category is also an ethnic group, and therefore, I see no reason to refer to the German category as 'national' and to the minority one as 'ethnic'.

Representing the relations between an individual and a social group it belongs to, ethnic identifications are social identifications. The processes guiding their emergence and change are therefore understood

[1] It is important to note that in the most recent version of the German naturalization law, only foreign nationals who are not European Union citizens, are still required to renounce their former citizenship when naturalized.

to rely primarily on the psychological and sociological processes guiding the emergence of social identities more generally. These processes were debated and discussed already since the end of the 19th century. Although they were not directed solely to explain processes of emotional integration, the different perspectives approaching social identity have all contributed to the discussion about the experiences of immigrants and their integration. The next section, gives a short overview of the three main perspectives in the field, and point out their relevance for emotional integration.[2]

2.2 Theories of social identity

The social identity theory:

According to the social identity theory, the emergence of social identity is based on a process of social categorization. In this process individuals place themselves as well as others within groups representing some inner logic, thus giving order to their social environment.[3] These groups or cognitive units assist individuals in deriving meaningful generalizations about the way the world works, and about their role within it. Importantly, social categorization also provides individuals a mean for self-evaluation, based on their evaluation of the category they belong to.

The clearest outcome of social categorization is the formation of social groups representing, in a general sense, a body of people who feel that they are a group (Tajfel 1978). Tajfel describes membership in a social group as composed of a cognitive, an evaluative and an emotional dimension. The cognitive dimension represents the knowledge of the individual of its membership in the group; the evaluative dimension refers to the positive or negative value this group membership has for the individual; the emotional dimension, taps into the development of emotions one feels toward the group or towards individuals standing in some kind of relation to it (Tajfel 1978: p.28).

An important consequence of membership in a social group is the emergence of social identity, defined as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1978: p.63). Individuals, who categorize themselves as members of a

[2] One of the three perspectives is the social identity perspective which includes both the social identity and the self-categorization theories.
[3] The social categorization process is based on the same principles at work in other categorization processes and serves similar goals (Rosch and Lloyd 1978). The important difference between social and other categorization processes is in the objects being categorized.

certain social group, thus also experience a sense of social identification which derives from their group membership.

One's social identification can be a source for psychological distress or psychological reassurance. According to Tajfel, the emergence of each of these two consequences depends primarily on social comparisons individuals make between their own in-group and some relevant out-group. If one's in-group is understood as advantageous in the context of this comparison, identification with it will have positive consequences for one's self-concept. If however one's in-group is understood as disadvantaged in the context of this comparison, identification with it will have negative consequences for one's self-concept. In such a case, the individual is predicted to take action in order to improve it. One course of action is leaving the disadvantaged group, and joining some alternative aspired in-group. Another is creating a change in the position of the group through collective action.

Social identity theory is particularly interested in the behavioral consequences of social identity. Specifically, it suggests that the emergence of intergroup conflicts can be explained by the need of social group members to improve their position compared with respective out-groups. The first of the two alternatives of action discussed above, namely leaving one's disadvantaged group, is predicted to decrease the chances for intergroup conflict to emerge. The second is more likely to bring such a conflict about.

Collective action is expected to be preferred over leaving one's in-group if individuals are unable to leave their group. In such situations, intergroup conflicts are more likely to occur. Importantly, collective action does not always imply the emergence of social conflict. It may also be oriented towards more creative ways to improve the status of the in-group. The social identity theory specifies the conditions determining the likelihood of each of these two alternatives (conflict or creativity) to emerge, referring to the stability and legitimacy of the status differences between the groups (see Mummendey et al. 1999).

This short description of the behavioral consequences of social categorization in an intergroup context requires some clarifications, particularly regarding the different alternatives of action it suggests. The more substantively relevant distinction for the purpose of this dissertation is the choice between staying in the group and leaving it. I will therefore not elaborate further on the factors determining whether staying in the group will be more likely to lead to social conflict or to the creative strategy (for further discussion about this aspect of social identity theory see Tajfel 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1986).

Individuals' engagement in one or the other type of behavior (leaving the group or staying) depends on the nature of the relations between the social groups, and more precisely on the perceived permeability of the social boundaries between them. The perceived permeability of the boundaries between the groups is predicted to be determined by the structural characteristics of the intergroup context, and also by the existence of value conflicts, or of social sanctions placed upon the individual by the in-group, or by the respective out-group. Tajfel understands the later two determinants to represent 'gate keepers' aimed to prevent individuals from either leaving their in-group, or joining an aspired out-group (Tajfel 1974).

Tajfel (1978) describes individuals' preferences between staying in the group or leaving it, using a continuum. One extreme of the continuum refers to a situation in which the boundaries between the social groups are perceived to be permeable. This situation implies that none of the restrictions listed above is present. Individuals located in this end of the continuum, called 'social mobility', are expected to leave their disadvantaged group because no difficulties are expected to be involved in this move.

The other extreme represents a situation in which the boundaries between the groups are perceived to be impermeable. This situation may be caused by any of the three reasons described above, or their combination. Individuals who perceive the intergroup situation as closer to this end of the continuum, called 'social change', are expected to believe that their move into another group is impossible or extremely difficult. They will have better chances to promote a change in their social self-concept through some form of collective action directed to improve the position of their in-group (Tajfel 1978).

Social change does not emerge only in situations where social mobility is impossible. It may also serve as the preferred course of action among individuals who rely to a great extent on clearly defined and inflexible distinction between their group and other groups. Alternatively it may emerge in situations of direct conflicts of interests between groups that are not associated with their respective status differences, or their beliefs about them. Such conflicts, may lead to the development of strong social sanctions making individual mobility practically impossible or at least, extremely difficult.

The above discussion demonstrates that although social identity theory is primarily associated with intergroup processes, it has contributed significantly to the understanding of the individual level processes underlying them. These contributions served later on, to stimulate the development of the self-categorization theory discussed next.

The self-categorization theory:

The self-categorization theory, developed out of social identity theory in order to explicate the process of social-categorization. Focused primarily on the analysis of group behavior, its main propositions are related to the process of depersonalization, by which individuals change their level of self-perception from an individual to a collective one. Once this change occurs, individuals underplay their individual idiosyncrasies and overact their stereotypical communalities with a salient social group (Turner et al. 1987).

Yet, the theory also made important contributions for the understanding of the individual processes underlying self-categorization. Among others it proposes that as individuals perceive themselves to be more similar to a prototype of a social category, their sense of security in their social category membership is sustained, decreasing the probability of their misidentification. This feeling of security assists individuals in producing a satisfactory self-concept (Turner and Reynolds 2003). This proposition laid the foundations for the specification of the factors determining which social categories individuals use in order to understand their position within a social context. The self-categorization theory thus clarifies how social categories are created and replaced, and what are the conditions under which they gain influence on individuals' behaviors and attitudes. It is this aspect of the self-categorization theory on which I elaborate next.

Two separate but related frameworks are proposed by the self-categorization theory for the understanding of the formation of self-defining social categorizations: the emergence of spontaneous social categories ('emergent categorization'), and the internalization of some culturally available classifications like national, gender, or religion categories. Although the two frameworks differ in many respects, their underlying mechanisms are understood to be rather similar. The formation of both types of categorizations is understood as the "degree that two or more people come to perceive and define themselves in terms of some shared ingroup-outgroup categorization" (Turner et al. 1987: p.51).

Whether associated with an emergent contextual categorization or a newly internalized one, self-categorization theory maintains that the formation of a group (or category) relies primarily on the principle of 'meta-contrast'. This principle is based on the average degree of similarities an individual shares with others, compared to the average degree of its perceived differences from them. If the former quantity is larger than the later, the likelihood of an individual to self-categorize in terms of a category that properly describes these similarities increases. Understood in this way, the formation of social categories strongly depends on the social stimulus provided. This stimulus serves as a frame of reference providing the relevant contrasts according to which individuals categorize.

The internalization of a category or the change in the way one categorizes, is understood as similar to processes of attitudinal changes or changes in beliefs (Turner et al. 1987).[4] Within this process, the stimulus for change is understood to arise from within the individual as an outcome of changes in its personal attributes or behaviors (Turner et al. 1994). Turner (1987) points out that the influence of significant others, and the public performance of behavior associated with a certain group membership is also important for both the emergence of change in one's self-attitude (or a self-categorization) and for determining the direction of the change. As he suggests, these changes can be understood in the framework of two psychological theories, the cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger 1954), and the self-representation theory (Bem 1967).

Festinger (1954), proposed that individuals, experiencing a contradiction between an attitude they hold and their behavior, or between an attitude they hold at one time point, and at a later time point, seek to reach some correspondence between them. They thus tend to alter either their later attitudes or the rationalization of their earlier one. This behavior is guided by individuals' need to avoid cognitive dissonance and is thus understood as a form of aversive behavior. The need to maintain a consistent and stable self was suggested as one of the main causes for cognitive dissonance to emerge and for individuals to make adjustments in their attitudes or beliefs (Aronson 1968).

Acknowledging the associations between behavior and self-conceptualization, the self-representation theory generally agrees with the propositions of the social dissonance theory. It too maintains that a behavioral change an individual undergoes, which carries consequences to its self-concept, will motivate the individual to alter its self-concept according to this change. However unlike the cognitive dissonance theory, this perspective maintains that this change is related with the nature of the self-description process, and not necessarily with the need to avoid risk (Bem 1967).

In the self-description process, an individual makes self-descriptive statements based on its own observations of its behaviors. These behaviors are in turn expected to match the external conditions under which they occur (Bem 1967). Hence, if there is some mismatch between the behavior and the description, it is often the former that is changed, and that requires one to change its self-description accordingly. This perspective underlines the similarities between the general process of self-

[4] That ethnic identifications are representations of attitudes that determine forms of actions was also acknowledged by Hill and Schnell (1990: p.37).

description individuals learn during their socialization, and that of attitude description. The external environment and its expectations are understood to play a central role in both.

The cognitive dissonance and the self-representation theories imply that if an individual is no longer able to explain, or understand its behaviors based on its existing self-conceptualizations, it will search for a new self-concept which will allow it to reach such an understanding. This process may imply the internalization of a new categorization, and potentially the renunciation of that self-conceptualization which contradicts with it.

The internalization of social categories has gained importance in recent developments of the self-categorization theory. In his interpretation of the self-categorization theory, Hogg (2000) proposes that self-categorization should be understood as a mechanism used for the reduction of uncertainty regarding one's self-concept. In many respects, the motivation to reduce uncertainty in one's self-conceptualization is based on the same processes described by the cognitive dissonance, and self-representation theories.

Specifically, the emergence of uncertainty is associated with both contextual and biographical factors, understood to undermine an individual's ability to derive clear orientations and expectations and therefore, as a situation individuals seek to avoid. Particularly aversive, is uncertainty that is related to aspects of the individuals' life that are of importance to it, like one's social identity. Individuals are therefore expected to engage in efforts to avoid such uncertainties by re categorization among others (Hogg 2000).

Unlike the internalization of a new category, emergent categorization is understood to represent a choice the individual makes between the different self-categorizations composing its self-concept. According to the self-categorization theory, this choice is based on the changing salience of the different self-categorizations one holds. The category which is most salient within the given context will dominate the individual's behaviors and attitudes within it and serve as its emergent social category. In this regard, salience serves as the criteria for the evaluation of one's proximity to a certain category prototype. It therefore represents an important factor that can increase or decrease one's potential gain from its self-categorization into a certain social group.

The salience of a category depends primarily on two main concepts: 'relative accessibility', and 'fit'. Categorization is in fact understood to emerge from the interaction between these two components (Turner et al. 1994). Relative accessibility represents the 'readiness' of an individual to use a certain category. It reflects individuals' active selectivity regarding those categories they are willing to use in order to refer to themselves and to others (Rutland and Cinnirella 2000). This selectivity is determined

by the centrality, the relevance and the usefulness of categories, as well as their probability to be 'objectively confirmed' by the environment (Turner et al. 1994). Self-categorization theory accordingly maintains that a category that is central or important for the individual or that is emotionally meaningful to it is likely to be more accessible. Oakes (1987) for example, maintains that during Apartheid, racial categorizations were chronically salient among South-African people due to their strong significance for everyday experiences.

'Fit' is the second concept expected to determine the salience of a social category. It contains two dimensions namely, a comparative and a normative one. Comparative fit is understood to represent the principle of 'meta-contrast' discussed above. Comparative fit thus represents the formation of a common category that also marks its differences from some contrasting background. Normative fit, represents the content aspect involved in the production of the category. It provides the perceiver with the relevant context within which the similarities and differences between the groups are understood. For example, in order to categorize a group of people as 'females' as opposed to 'males', the objects of the categorization must not only differ more from males than they do amongst themselves. They must also differ from them in the right direction on specific content dimensions, relevant for this comparison.

The emergence of spontaneous categories relies to a large extent on the social composition of the interaction experienced by the individual in a given context. This contextual composition, determines the meta-contrast ratio for the individual which can then place itself among its 'contextual peers'. In this framework of categorization, the stimulus, derives from the context specific social settings in which one interacts Therefore, as individuals move between contexts, their relative similarities to some and differences from others forces them to re categorize accordingly.

Although both the social identity and the self-categorization theories, served as central reference points for students of emotional integration (e.g. Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191), they are not the only theoretical perspectives utilized to explain it. Two other theoretical perspectives often referred to in the literature are identity theory, which developed out of symbolic interactionism, and the identity development perspective, which emerged primarily from the works of Erikson (1959) and Marcia (1966). Both perspectives are discussed below.

Identity theory

In Bernd Simon's "identity in modern society" (2004), he describes identity theory as the main sociological theory for identity formation, to be differentiated from theories developed in social psychology or psychology. Its roots can be traced back to Herbert Mead's "Mind, Self, and Society" (1967) and to the symbolic interactionism perspective.

Mead (1967), conceptualized identity as composed of three dimensions: the 'me', the 'I', and the 'self'. The me represents that part of one's identity which is a reflection of what others think about it. It is a dynamic concept which changes as the respective 'others' change. The I, refers to the more personal understanding of the individual of what others think of it. Thus, individuals receive the different expectations of others from them, conceptualized as the 'me', and react toward these others through the I, representing their own interpretations of them. The me and the I are therefore only understood in terms of their interrelations.

Finally, the self accounts for the way all the different me's and I's are organized into a whole. It is the product of, or the sum of, the different conceptualizations an individual holds about itself, which reflects the interplay between the me's it is subjected to, and the I's it produces. For this reason, the self too is a dynamic construct that is constantly changing.

Emerging from Mead's tradition, one of the main propositions of identity theory is that identity develops out of the interactions individuals participate in within their social environment. These interactions define certain positions individuals occupy in specific contexts, defined as 'roles' or 'role-identities'. The roles individuals hold imply in turn, certain expectations regarding the behavior of the actors occupying them, and those they interact with. 'Identity' in identity theory is understood to represent the collection of 'roles' individuals hold. It is, in a sense, a representation of the 'self' in its Meadian sense. A pool of the me's one collects from its different role identities and the interactions they imply, and the I's it derives from them.

The self-categorization and social identity theories, perceive the differences between them and identity theory as unbridgeable (Hogg et al. 1995). However, scholars affiliated with identity theory maintain that the two perspectives share substantial similarities (Stets and Burke 2000). The differences between the two perspectives are mostly apparent when comparing the emergent categorization framework of self-categorization theory with role-identity related processes described in identity theory. When discussing the internalization of a social identity or a role-identity, the two theories are not too far removed.

Like self-categorization theory, identity theory also conceives of 'identity' as a cognitive scheme that is meant to assist one in making sense of social interactions and situations, and in determining courses of action. By internalizing a certain role in the form of a role-identity, individuals acquire the means to define their own and others' place in the situation and better correspond to the expectations of others from them within it. Role-identities like social categories are internalized in a process of attribution which derives from the socially meaningful properties individuals hold, as well as their behaviors

within specific social contexts. The properties individuals hold and their behaviors help them to self-ascribe to that group which stereotypical properties and behaviors they hold and perform.

However, unlike self-categorization theory, identity theory assigns a dominant role to the structural context in which individuals interact. Within this perspective, identities are strongly determined by the social structure and the opportunities and limitations it suggests. In other words, not all role-identities are open equally to everyone. The variety and types of roles individuals occupy depends on their position within the social structure (Simon 2004). The role of a teacher and the role-identity that is associated with it for example, are an outcome of the structural position of the individual in a room of pupils who expect a person to behave in line with this role. It is not an outcome of that person's own understanding of its prototypical properties as more similar to a teacher than to a pupil.

Another important difference between the social identity perspective and identity theory is that within the later, the roles individuals occupy are all understood to be predefined by the experiences individuals go through in their everyday interactions with others, and their changing positions in these interactions. The dynamic nature of identity in identity theory derives therefore from the position of a given role in the hierarchy of roles composing one's identity, or its respective salience in this hierarchy. Salience is here understood as the location of a certain role-identity within a complete hierarchy of role-identities. While the role-identities included in this hierarchy remain stable, their relative position in it is subjected to change.

In identity theory, identity salience depends first on the probability of a certain identity to be active across a variety of situations. This probability is primarily determined by the commitment of the individual to the different roles it holds. 'Commitment', is understood to represent the extent to which one's identity or role-identity is central to one's relationships, and interactions with others. It serves to reflect how these role-identities are relevant for one's social behaviors, by pointing to the number of interaction partners, or network members, that are related to them. Another important aspect of commitment is the significance, or importance one attributes to the individuals one is connected with due to a certain role-identity. Commitment thus includes a quantitative, and a qualitative dimension (Simon 2004: p.24-25).

White and Burke (1987) underline another determinant of the salience of a certain role-identity, namely role-specific self-esteem. This factor is understood to represent the individual's subjective self-evaluations in the different roles it has. The better one feels regarding its being in a given role, the higher this self-esteem is predicted to be.

Another determinant of the salience of role-identities is the relative ability of individuals to confirm their identity across situations (Stryker and Burke 2000). This ability depends on the extent to which the meanings derived from individuals' identities are interpreted to support their own and others' perceptions of their relations within them. Considering the case of ethnic identities one would for example ask whether the fact that an Italian immigrant is better skilled in the language of the receiving society, will not undermine its Italian role-identity. This question will also depend on how long this person has lived in the receiving country or whether or not it was born in it (see Sala et al. 2010). Such questions will serve as additional tools to evaluate the extent to which one's identity as an Italian is confirmed.

Associations between ethnic identification and the concept of 'role-identity' are widely discussed. One of the main claims against understanding ethnic identities as role-identities was made by Hogg and his colleagues (1995). They maintain that role-identities represent "self-defining roles that individuals occupy in society" (Hogg et al. 1995: p.257), and not attributes that they ascribe themselves to, or that others ascribe to them.

Looking into Gender identities, Burke and Cast (1997) propose the term 'master role identities' to refer to Gender, race or ethnic identities. These master role-identities are understood to function similarly to other roles in terms of individuals' commitment to them and their salience in individuals' hierarchies. White and Burke (1987), also discuss respondents' ethnic identities in the same terminology used for other more typical role-identities. Relying on these and other postulations, Stets and Burke (2000) maintain that social identities and role-identities function on different levels. Yet, they add that the underlying mechanisms involved in both concepts' association with individuals' behavior are not too different.

Extending this idea, Deaux and Martin (2003) suggest that ethnicity, race or gender should be understood to represent large scale social categories that are performed at a lower level namely, in everyday interactions between individuals. The membership of an individual in the 'woman' category for example, will have consequences for the way she performs the different role identities she occupies. Importantly, the relations between the lower level interactions and the higher level categories are reciprocal. Not only do the higher level categories determine individuals' behavior at the lower one, but the conditions on the lower level are also consequential for the persistence or change in individuals' higher level categorizations. Thus, in their eyes, master role-identities and lower level role-identities are interdependent.

These understandings of master role-identities suggest that they are subjected to changes occurring in individuals' social environments. Therefore, similarly to the social-psychological perspectives

discussed above, they too, suggest that the formation and change of ethnic identifications is determined by the structural and social circumstances in which individuals live.

Social identities from a developmental perspective:

In the developmental literature, identity formation is based primarily on individuals' internal exploration processes. In this regard, it is more closely associated with the sociological traditions of Mead (1967) and Cooley (1964). Within this theoretical perspective the exchange between internal individual processes and external environmental factors is once again understood to serve as a determinant of social identities and changes individuals experience in them.

The starting point for discussing social identity from a developmental perspective is Erikson's identity theory where the formation of a stable and coherent sense of identity is considered to represent one of the main challenges in the development of youth and young adults (Erikson 1968; 1959). The development of identity among individuals is considered to be necessary for their enhancement of capacities like realizing their agency as individuals, learning what it is they are good at, and how to deal with the challenges of social life (Schwartz et al. 2005).

Erikson's identity is composed of three main dimensions: ego identity, personal identity and social identity. Ego identity represents a silent dimension that is largely inaccessible and is considered to be beyond the reach of scientific inquiry. Personal identity, is understood to represent some understanding of the individual of "where he is going and who is going with him" (Erikson 1966: p.150). It is associated with individuals' goals, beliefs and values (Phinney 1990).

As a social identity, Erikson understands that part of individuals' identity that derives from the traditional values held by a community of people, in their own psychological identity. While Erikson himself did not refer specifically to the role of ethnicity in this context, Phinney (1990) extended Erikson's identity development theory to account for its specific formation. She proposed, that changes in the way individuals understand their ethnic identity and in the role it plays in their self-concept, are associated with experiences that increase their awareness to it.

Although it is common to understand Erikson's identity development theory as associated primarily with the period of adolescence, Erikson also acknowledged that at least its social dimension, remains contested also at later stages (Erikson 1966). Such changes are associated with contextual factors, and the society in which one explores one's identity (Schwartz 2005). Thus, although in many accounts identity is expected to be stable once it reaches a certain stage, this stability may be associated with one's ego or personal identity more than with one's social identity. Psychological accounts on the

process of identity formation and identity crisis maintain that even these former dimensions are not immune to change among adults (Breackwell 1986).

Focusing on changes in how individuals articulate their ethnic identity, Phinney's conceptualization of ethnic identity development is primarily associated with the personal dimension of Erikson's identity construct. She distinguishes between three stages in the progression of ethnic identification status starting from an unexamined ethnic identification, and moving through ethnic identity exploration, to the final stage she calls commitment (Phinney 1990).

Acknowledging Phinney's important contribution, Schwartz and his colleagues (2005) maintained that not only individuals' interest in their ethnic identification but also changes in the way they ethnically identify require further exploration. They understand ethnic identification, to represent one type of cultural identity, in turn representing an aspect of one's social identity. This social identity encompasses the individuals' closeness to the group it belongs to, and its distance from respective out-groups (Schwartz et al. 2006). In this manner they separate between the personal, and the social manifestations of ethnic identification.

Importantly, Schwartz and his colleagues propose that changes in social identifications are most likely to occur under changing contextual settings (Schwartz et al. 2005). Specifically, they propose that the transitions experienced by individuals as they enter adulthood, and the changes these events imply in their immediate environment are bound to bear meaning also for the way they redefine their place within it.

The transition into adulthood or the 'emerging adulthood' stage represents a period in individuals' life course in which they experience an array of events symbolizing their entry into adult life. Among these events, the literature typically acknowledges their entry into the labor market, their move away from their parents' home, their entry into marriage, and the birth of the first child (Hogan and Astone 1986).

One example for the changes in individuals' orientations which surface as an outcome of emerging adulthood is described by Arnett and Jensen (2002). They report that in their emerging adulthood stages, respondents re examine the religious beliefs they learned at home and form new beliefs representing their independent reflections. Specifically, the respondents describe being free from parental monitoring, as a trigger leading to changes in their relation to religion, and their attitudes towards it. Like religious beliefs, ethnic identifications are also expected to be re examined in light of such changing contexts, and for similar reasons. Particularly among immigrants, leaving home, finding

a partner and a job, and raising a family are also expected to make this aspect of their self-concept salient (Phinney and Alipuria 1990; Schwartz et al. 2006).

Although every individual goes through the emerging adulthood stage, the events associated with it are expected to have stronger consequences for the ethnic identifications of immigrants and their descendents. Two main factors are responsible for this: first, ethnic identification is typically more salient among immigrants and their descendents. Second, due to the intergenerational nature of integration already established in the literature, the younger generations' entry into adulthood, may mark their breaking away from parental influences that were dominant in their lives as children, or adolescents.

2.3 Summary

The process of emotional integration this study seeks to clarify is represented by the ethnic identifications immigrants, and immigrants' descendents use to understand and describe themselves. This form of self-conceptualization is dynamic in more than one way. First, the properties which makes one a member of an ethnic group, and the defining features of this group, are not stable. As suggested above, ethnic groups may be self-asserted or ascribed, and at times, they are born out of some compromise between the external assignment of individuals into groups and these individuals' own self-assertion. The flexible nature of ethnic groups derives both from the acquired nature of some of their defining features and the imagined nature of those features considered to be ascriptive.

Second, the actual ethnic category one identifies with is also subjected to change. One can internalize new ethnic categories, and among those ethnic categories one holds, their salience may also change in light of changing contexts, or changing individual attributes. Particularly important in this regard is the ability of one's ethnic category membership to provide it with a positive social identity, or high self-esteem. The extent to which one's ethnic category assertion serves to support its attitudes and behaviors is also central for one's ethnic identification preference. Both sources of flux are primarily influenced by the social context individuals live in, and their individual properties.

This dissertation focuses on the role the process of integration plays in shaping the dynamics of individuals' ethnic identification preferences. The next chapter therefore gives an overview of immigration and integration theories, discussing the different characteristics of this context and the individual properties which are predicted to be particularly relevant within it.

3. Immigration and Integration in the Social Sciences

The purpose of this introductory chapter is primarily to discuss sociological and social-psychological theories related to the process of immigrants' integration. These theories will serve as important building blocks for the theoretical model this dissertation proposes. However, before attending to integration, which already discusses the consequences of immigration, is it necessary to give a brief overview of the main perspectives explaining the origins of contemporary international migration.

3.1 Theories of immigration

Most theoretical perspectives on contemporary immigration both on the macro and the micro level rely on the vast economic changes sponsored by processes of modernization, industrialization, and globalization. One of the best known theories attending to international migration on the macro level from this economic approach is the neoclassical theory, aimed primarily to explain labor immigration (see e.g. Harris and Todaro 1970).

The neoclassical theory views the labor market as the primary mechanism explaining modern immigration. Its main claims, summarized by Massey and his colleagues (1993) among others, are that given the increasing geographical differences in the supply and demand of labor, individuals from countries characterized by low wages, are increasingly immigrating to countries characterized by higher wages. A similar Marco-level explanation for international immigration was proposed by the dual labor market theory which links immigration with the changing structural requirements of modern economies (Bonacich 1972). In general, this theory perceives the dual labor market as a major incentive for receiving countries to recruit labor immigrants in order to fill in positions in their secondary labor market. This theory too, understands the movement of individuals between countries as an outcome of increasing demand in developed countries for low wage and low skilled workers.

The world system theory, represents a third macro-level theory of immigration, that associates international migration with the increasingly globalized market economy (Sassen 1988). This theory suggests that the emergence of an internationally mobile labor force resulted from the capitalist economic relations between the core developed and the peripheral developing world. Establishing factories in the developing countries, capitalists from developed countries create major social and structural changes in the former, increasing the inclination of their residents to emigrate.

The economic rationale remains central also in micro-level theories of immigration. For example, the micro-level variant of the neoclassical perspective, understands immigration to emerge from differential employment conditions in the sending and the receiving countries (see Todaro and

Maruszko 1987). The theory assumes that individuals rationally seek to maximize their income, and will engage in immigration if it is perceived as providing the better returns in wealth production, net of all related costs.

Further developing this economic utility oriented explanation for immigration, the new economics of migration approach conceives of the entire household as the unit of production (Massey et al. 1993). This perspective differs from the former primarily in its rejection of a 'wage differential' as a necessary condition for immigration to occur. Considering the entire households economic needs, it demonstrates how sending one of its members to another country may also be beneficial if such a differential does not exist.

Material gains and economic processes are not the sole explanations for international migration. Other perspectives, have traced its origins also to ethno-national factors. These factors became increasingly relevant for international immigration in the middle of the 20th century, as well as towards its end, in light of increasing occurrences of ethnic cleansing, persecution, and war. However such violent events do not represent necessary conditions for ethno-national related immigration (Brubacker 1998). Ethno-national affiliations and affinity may also play a role in individuals' decisions whether and where to immigrate to. Affinities can rely on political and ideological convictions individuals hold, and also on cross national networks and ethnically based institutions in the receiving countries. Such institutions, increase the attractiveness of immigration by decreasing its costs (Massey et al. 1993).

Driven by economic or other reasons, immigration implies the meeting of different persons and cultures and requires all parts involved to adjust to a new reality. The forms and consequences of these adjustments are described below in my overview of integration theories.

3.2 Theories of integration

The topic of integration has been a source of scientific interest not only in the field of immigration. It is also associated with warfare and colonization, with ethnic conflicts emerging between separate and proximate groups, and with the more general psychological processes accompanying such encounters (Price 1969). Yet, towards the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries, immigration is increasingly becoming the central context in which integration occurs, at least in the western part of the world and hence, also the main context in which it is studied. The richness of theories explaining the process of integration is perhaps the most convincing testimony for its complexity. In order to approach this complexity, this chapter discusses the main theories of integration, and underlines the central debates between them.

Early theories of integration understood it to represent a one directional process leading from immigrants' separation to their gradual acceptance of the dominant 'core' culture (see e.g. Park 1928). This process, termed assimilation, was accordingly defined as "a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Borgess 1969: p.735).

This idea can already be found in Parks' "The nature of race relations" where he presents a formal theoretical account for the assimilation process known as the 'race relation cycle' (Park 1950). The race relation cycle begins with contact between the foreigners and the receiving society. It than develops into a stage of competitive relations between members of the two groups over scarce resources, particularly in the labor market but also in other realms of the social life.

The competition stage is expected to reach some form of accommodation once each group finds its place within the social system. More often than not this accommodation stage is characterized by the immigrants' occupying the lower positions in society, and separating themselves from the dominant society. According to Park (1928; 1950), accommodation is bound to be undermined by the emergence of individual relationships across the racial boundaries thus leading to the eventual assimilation of the foreign group within the receiving one.

Although the race relation cycle is a significant landmark in integration research, it is important to stress its main shortfalls. First, in his race relation cycle, Park failed to recognize the possibility of the elimination of the minority, which occurred in Nazi Germany, or the expulsion of minorities that was adopted to deal with cultural diversity in other countries. Second, Park suggests a very general conceptualization of the assimilation process overlooking its varied forms and stages. In practice, individuals may be assimilated to different extents in different realms of their social and private lives (Price 1969: p.216).

One attempt to account for this differentiation, is found in the writings of Warner and Srole (1946). Although describing the changes immigrants experience in the receiving society to reflect their general movement towards assimilation, these authors proposed that this movement can be observed in different spheres and that it occurs in different pace. The different spheres of assimilation the authors described, are the structural progress of the immigrants along the class line, and their cultural adaptation within the family, and outside of it (Alba and Nee 2003: p.22). An important determinant of the variations the authors find in immigrants' integration in both these dimensions is their generational status. Specifically, they differentiate between the integration of the second generation whose members are born in the receiving society, that of the one and a half generation who immigrated at

young ages, and that of first generation adult immigrants (see also Rumbaut 2004). Another source of variation pointed out by Warner and Srole (1946) is related to the number of years passed since the immigrants arrival in the receiving country.

A study conducted in Germany during the early 1970s among labor migrants also demonstrated that their labor market position was improving with their duration of stay in Germany. Due to the young age of the second generation respondents in this study, the generational status of the respondents was not a central factor explaining this process (Schrader et al. 1976). Generational related differences were in this study observed more in the context of the immigrants' cultural assimilation. The better cultural assimilation of second generation respondents reported by the authors is explained by their frequent interactions with German peers.

Apart from generational status, and the number of years passed since the immigrants' arrival in the receiving country, Eizenshtadt (1954) also stresses the relevance of the behavior of what he calls the elite immigrants in the assimilation process (or absorption as he calls it). By demonstrating assimilative behavior, in the form of the adoption of the host language, the acceptance of its norms, and the change of their self-concepts, the elite among the immigrants legitimate and encourage these behaviors among the rest of the groups' members (Eizenshtadṭ 1954).

Another important development in assimilation research was marked by the specification of its ecological dimension in addition to the structural and cultural dimensions (Price 1969). This dimension was underlined in the works of Glazer (1957) among others, who described the assimilation of West European Jews in America. Glazer proposed that one of the central forms in which the assimilation of Jews was carried out, was their move out of the 'downtown' areas of the city, and into its 'uptown' and suburban areas, and the satellite towns outside it. As the Jews moved from one area to another, the cultural load they carried with them also changed, increasingly reflecting the culture of the host society. The spatial dimension of integration became increasingly dominant in American integration studies during the 1980s and 1990s (Massey and Denton 1987).

Although increasingly sensitive to the multidimensional nature of integration, the accounts discussed above represent less or more qualified sequential classifications. They primarily emphasize the role time plays in the integration process represented by years, or generations. Focusing more on the multidimensional nature of integration and less on its time related variability, Gordon (1964) provides an alternative organizing principle for the explanation of integration that is based on the differentiation of its dimensions. Gordon's theory introduces a distinction between seven dimensions: cultural or behavioral assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, attitude reception assimilation, behavior reception assimilation, and civic assimilation.

The first dimension consists of changes in the immigrants' cultural practices that were expected to increasingly include more of the cultural characteristics of the host society. The second dimension refers to the immigrants' increasing participation in the host society's primary social groups, implying their improving social standings. The third dimension predicts increasing rates of intermarriages between migrants and members of the host society. Gordon's identificational assimilation refers to the development of a sense of 'peoplehood' among the immigrants that is based solely on their host society membership. Finally, the attitudinal, behavioral and civic assimilation dimensions consist according to Gordon from the gradual disappearance of prejudice and discrimination, as well as the dismantling of value or power conflicts between the migrant groups and the host society.

Gordon's assimilation theory, also reformulates the assimilation process more generally. Unlike Park's linear conception of assimilation which ends in the entry of immigrants into the white Christian middle class, Gordon's theory proposes three alternative consequences of assimilation: 'Anglo-conformity', 'melting pot' and 'cultural pluralism'. In the first alternative assimilation is expected to lead to the adoption of the cultural practices of the host society. The 'Anglo conformity' option, ignores other processes such as structural assimilation altogether. The 'melting pot' alternative offers an ideal process through which the American society is perceived as a fusion of European and non-European groups, both on the cultural and the structural levels. The 'cultural pluralism' alternative is often viewed as Gordon's own vision, rather than a theoretically based outcome of assimilation. It envisions a society in which individuals of different ethnic origins are expected to live their life within the boundaries of their specific ethnic group (Alba and Nee 1997).

Although Gordon's theory of assimilation contributed greatly to the field, it is also criticized for its flaws. Price (1969) points out for example that the causal relationships connecting Gordon's different dimensions of assimilation are specified only to a limited extent. Although he points to some systematic sequences between his different dimensions of integration, these are not specific enough to compose a complete cycle. The only three clear statements about the order of the process are that acculturation is likely to occur first, and may last indefinitely, and that structural assimilation is expected to push forward all other dimensions of assimilation (Gordon 1964: p.77;81). As for the other five dimensions and their place in the process, Gordon proposes no clear expectations.

Another shortcoming of Gordon's theory is that it does not propose the possibility of reaction. In other words, it does not allow a change in one dimension to lead to changes in dimensions placed in earlier stages in the sequence. The theory also fails to discuss the possibility of regression where the reaction chain would imply that a decline in one dimension leads to a decrease in the assimilation of the immigrants in another (Price 1969: p.221).

Owing to the importance of the structural dimension of assimilation to immigrants' incorporation into the receiving society in the different assimilation theories, it represents one of the most studied dimensions within assimilation research. Another significant body of research has developed around the cultural (acculturation) dimension of assimilation specified in Gordon's work. While structural assimilation is regarded as the main mechanism through which assimilation is progressing, acculturation is considered a long lasting process that is relatively independent form the other dimensions of assimilation. The other dimensions of integration included in Gordon's model receive more attention in alternative models developed in Australia also during the 1960s. These models also provide the possibility of regression and reaction Gordon's model leaves unattended.

The first theoretical model I wish to portray was proposed by Alen Richardson in 1967. This model differs from Gordon's theory in three main aspects. First, Richardson perceives the entire assimilation process as dependent on the level of satisfaction of the newcomers with their lives in the new society. He asserts that only once the dissatisfaction (if ever experienced) of the newcomer with life in general is replaced by satisfaction, assimilation can take place (Richardson 1967).

Second, Richardson further differentiates Gordons' cultural dimension into more specific and testable conditions namely obligatory, advantageous, and optional acculturation. The obligatory acculturation type pertains to those cultural changes that are forced upon the individual in terms of accessibility and needs. For example, some foods may not be available in the new country thus obliging one to change one's diet. Language is another useful example for this obligatory acculturation as in order to communicate one's basic needs, one has to be able to speak the language of the new society, at least to a basic level.

Advantageous acculturation refers to the adoption of behaviors, due to peer pressures. This sort of acculturation is dependent upon the willingness of the individual to be socially accepted by members of the new society. Finally, optional acculturation is related to cultural behaviors that although performed by the members of the new culture are in no way required. To give one example for this type of cultural behaviors Richardson discusses the acquisition of the local accent or of bodily gestures performed by members of the receiving society.

An important difference between the former two acculturation types and the later one is that the optional acculturation depends on the immigrants' identification with the receiving society. Because this optional acculturation represents the terminal stage of assimilation in Richardson's model, assimilation is practically conditioned upon the newcomers' self-identification as members of the new society. Identification is in turn dependent on the satisfaction of the immigrants from their lives in the

receiving society. Only if the transition from dissatisfaction to satisfaction has occurred will identification with the new society emerge (Richardson 1967).

A second model proposing a better specification of the relations between the cultural, attitudinal, and identification assimilation dimensions was suggested by Ronald Taft (1957). Taft proposes seven stages immigrants go through in their assimilation, eventually transforming them from foreigners, to members of the receiving society. In the first two stages, the immigrants acquire information about the culture of the receiving society, and develop positive attitudes towards its members and norms, and towards their own aspired membership in it. The third stage referrers to the alienation of the individual from its 'original' group. It includes dissociation from the members and the norms of one's original group, and gradually also its disidentification with it (Taft 1957).

The fourth and fifth stages describe the emergence of social interactions with members of the receiving culture which are expected to depend on the latter's acceptance of the migrants, and willingness to engage in interpersonal contact with them. The next stage presents the development of 'membership identity' among the immigrants, implying their formal membership in the group. In the final stage, individuals conform to the norms of the receiving cultural group, and perceive them as congruent with their own preferences (Taft 1957).

Taft (1957), understands this seven-stage process of assimilation, to represent its internal aspect. He distinguishes this aspect from the external aspect of assimilation that serves as the context in which the former occurs. External assimilation, is shaped by the reactions of both the original group the individual belongs to and the new group it is assimilating into to one another (Taft 1957). Specifically, Taft differentiates between two contexts of assimilation, each carrying different implications for the immigrants' internal assimilation.

The first context is an interactionist one, characterized by decreasing distinctiveness between the groups, resulting from increasing convergence in their 'fundamental social norms'. The internal assimilation of immigrants in this external context is predicted to be only of small significance, as it represents a move between two groups that are anyway not distinct. The second context is a monistic one, characterized by high distinctiveness between the groups, and their 'fundamental social norms'. Under such conditions, the internal assimilation described above implies a significant marginal stage representing the space between the fundamental norms of one group and those of the other, and is of high significance for the individuals experiencing it. The monistic context is understood by Taft (1957) to be the more prevalent of the two contexts. He therefore directs more attention to this context in his theory.

Like Richardson, Tuft also assumes that the acquisition of knowledge of the cultural practices of the dominant group, and specifically its language, precedes the immigrants' identification with it. Apart from this clear sequential relationship, Taft's model, suggests multiple sequences of assimilation rather than one prototypical sequence. Particularly, the different social and cultural assimilation stages (stages 4 to 7) may precede each other in different sequences.

Like the other models discussed above, Taft's model assumes that in order for assimilation to occur, immigrants must renounce their former group membership, their former role within this group, and their social ties with its members. He too, understands assimilation to represent the complete transitions of individuals from one group into another across the different dimensions of the social life. The different dimensions serve as levels of assimilation that can be accumulated over time. Another common characteristic shared by most of the models presented thus far is that they refer to assimilation as a natural process mobilizing immigrants from a marginal position into the mainstream of the host society. They assume first that there is such a mainstream, and second that this mainstream is superior to the alternative cultures brought into the host society from the outside (Zhou 1997).

The integration process suggested by the different models discussed above, composing the classical perspective to assimilation, was strongly contested by the segmented assimilation perspective. Relying on empirical observations collected among immigrant groups arriving in the US in the second half of the 20th century and their descendents, this perspective demonstrated that it only applies to some immigrants. Other immigrants demonstrate alternative patterns of integration.

The observations collected by advocates of the segmented assimilation perspective revealed first that while some immigrants experience increasing mobility into the mainstream as the classical assimilation theory predicts, others remain disadvantaged, demonstrating lower socioeconomic standings and lower participation rates in the host society's labor market (Kao and Tienda 1995; Wilson and Portes 1980). A second pattern revealed in these empirical observations conveyed that structural assimilation does not imply the immigrants' abandonment of their ethnic cultural heritage. In fact, some immigrants were found to utilize their cultural heritage in order to increase their social mobility (Zhou 1997).

These new patterns of integration rejected both of the main assumptions forwarded by the classical assimilation perspective. First, they demonstrated that class and cultural differences between the immigrant minorities and the receiving society persist over time and generations. Second, they revealed that integration does not occur in the same manner across its varied dimensions. Therefore, while the classical assimilation perspective proposes a unidirectional conceptualization of assimilation experienced in different dimensions of the social life, the segmented assimilation perspective suggests

a more flexible and diverse process of integration. It maintains that in addition to assimilation, the immigrants' reliance on ethnic cultural capital and on ethnic enclaves, and their incorporation into the underclass serve as alternative paths of integration. The segmented assimilation perspective also differs from the classical assimilation one in its theoretical orientations. Instead of providing a formal theory of the kind Park and Gordon attempted to create, it proposes a set of theoretical propositions to account for its different consequences (Portes 1999; Zhou 1997).

The different patterns of integration observed in studies conducted within the segmented assimilation perspective, are understood to be determined by the immigrants' individual characteristics and their family structures, and by the characteristics of the context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.44-69). This perspective also underlines the importance of the interactions between these three determinants, stressing that individual and familial conditions do not exist in a vacuum but within contextual settings that also shape them (Zhou, 1997).

Among the individual characteristics determining the immigrants' integration patterns, segmented assimilation underlines the origin of the immigrants. In the case of the 'new' immigrants into the US, their non European and non white origin, was understood to represent one of the reasons for the different integration patterns they demonstrate. The different integration patterns of the 'new immigrants' were additionally associated with the higher heterogeneity in their education levels, their job experience and their language skills (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.46-48). The human capital of the 'new' immigrants also determines the educational and economic prospects of their children. Children born to unskilled parents, are often 'trapped' in inner city enclaves, and consequentially visit public schools in which most of their school friends share the same ethnic or racial origin, limiting their opportunities to contact members of the host society (Zhou 1997).

Another important determinant of immigrants' integration patterns according to the segmented assimilation perspective is their family structure. Single parenthood, observed more often among the 'new' immigrants than among 'old' immigrants, was specifically pointed out as determining not only the first, but also the second generation immigrants' integration patterns (Zhou 1997).

Three main characteristics of the context of reception define its association with immigrants' integration patterns: the governmental policies applied by the receiving country, the societal settings within it, and the structure of the immigrant communities. Portes and Rumbaut (2001: p.44-69) distinguish three main policy types issued towards immigration and immigrants' integration, namely exclusion, passive acceptance, or active encouragement. Exclusion implies no access of immigrants into society; passive acceptance refers to a situation where the immigrants are allowed into the country but are not supported further in any way. Finally, active encouragement represents the active

encouragement of immigration, or active governmental assistance granted to immigrants by state authorities.

Each of these policies implies different consequences for immigrants' integration. Exclusion directs the immigrants into an underground existence, which challenges not only their material situation, but also their physical well-being. Passive acceptance, also open other alternatives for them, which are strongly associated with their individual and familial situation, the level of support they can get from their co ethnic peers, and the way they are accepted by the members of the host society. Finally, active encouragement has the highest potential to secure the immigrants' opportunity structure.

In the US currently, most of the immigrants experience a passive acceptance policy. In Germany, labor immigration was actively encouraged between the 1950s and 1970s. During the 1970s an attempt was made to apply an exclusion policy on labor immigration in Germany, however de facto, labor and other immigrants arriving into Germany since the 1970 are treated with passive acceptance. Ethnic immigrants into Germany were treated with an active encouragement policy in the early years after the Second World War. The extent of this encouragement has decreased substantively during the 1980s and 1990s.

The societal aspect of the context of reception, relates to the acceptance of the immigrants by the receiving society. The extent to which immigrants are accepted by the members of the receiving society is often determined by the perceived and actual similarities and differences between the former and the later. In the context of the US, the racial distinctiveness of many of the 'new' immigrants is said to play an important role (See e.g. Massey and Denton 1987).

In the European context, religion is increasingly seen as the main source of ethnic divide between immigrant communities and the receiving societies (Foner and Alba 2008; Zolberg and Long 1999). In Germany, there are visible disadvantages to being Muslim in terms of educational attainment and labor market position (Haug et al. 2009). However, the question whether immigrants with a Muslim background are actively discriminated against and whether this discrimination is based on their distinctive religious affiliation, remains open (Kalter 2006).

The third determinant of the context of reception is the communal one, associated with the structure and composition of the communities into which immigrants arrive. Institutionalized and flourishing ethnic communities grant their new members many advantages in terms of housing, employment, and useful information. The ethnic community also reduces the immigrants' dependency on the institutions of the receiving society. Relying on the 'ethnic option', immigrants are no longer required to acquire the skills needed to enter the host economy, and are also less vulnerable to the discriminating practices

within it. Instead, the migrants can utilize their homeland human capital and the networks they have within the community.

Above all, the advantages associated with the role of the ethnic community in shaping immigrants' incorporation into the receiving society is associated with the economic opportunities it provides them with (see e.g. Logan et al. 2002). However, the same opportunities were also understood to imply negative consequences to immigrants' integration. Breton (1964) for example, pointed out that these opportunities are far more limited than those available for immigrants outside the ethnic enclave in terms of their short and long term utilities. Closed within the ethnic enclave, immigrants thus end up in what he calls the 'ethnic trap'. This concept refers to the often found lower structural position of immigrants who remain trapped within the boundaries of the ethnic economy.

As stated earlier in this section, the classical and the segmented assimilation perspectives discussed are constantly debated in integration studies. The differences between them were bridged in two main forms. Gans (1992; 1997) tried to demonstrate how the empirical observations collected within the segmented assimilation perspective, can still be explained within the classical assimilation perspective. First, he proposes that the contradictions brought to the fore by the segmented assimilation perspective should be understood to represent "bumpy line assimilation". According to this notion, while assimilation continues to be the rule, it does have some exceptions primarily associated with the economic opportunities of certain immigrant groups. The economic difficulties these immigrants are faced with, delay their assimilation (Gans 1992).

Second, Gans points out that the participants of the studies conducted within the segmented assimilation perspective are newcomers or young children still living with their parents, many of which not skilled in English. In contrast, the empirical findings described by advocates of the classical assimilation perspective were collected among adult second generation immigrants, or individuals who lived in the US for many years, and were fluent in English. It is thus plausible that the different observations found for the 'old' and the 'new' immigration are an artifact of the different life stages their members were in when the data were collected.

A second approach taken to bridge between the classical and the segmented assimilation perspectives was suggested by Alba and Nee (1999) who proposed to incorporate both into a new theoretical framework. The main building blocks of this framework derive from the new institutionalism in sociology that understands individuals' actions as deriving from "mental models shaped by cultural beliefs – costumes, social norms, law, ideology and religion – that mold perceptions of self-interest" (Alba and Nee 2003: p.37). In other words, their framework is associated with the concept of bounded rationality that focuses on the conditions guiding the rational choices individuals make.

Alba and Nee (2003) propose two main groups of conditions that determine the choices immigrants make in terms of their integration strategies. Proximate causes represent individual characteristics such as language skills, educational attainment and so forth. Distal causes represent more contextual characteristics associated with policy issues, intergroup relations and so on. The assimilation process is then explained through the choices individual immigrants make as active agents, based on the possibilities these conditions open for them, or leave out of their reach.

An important contribution of this new theory of assimilation is its conceptualization of the boundaries between the immigrant and dominant groups, and their dynamic nature. Initially, these social boundaries are constructed by individuals in both groups, based on the different behaviors and orientations practiced by each. The gradual dismantling of these boundaries therefore signifies the decline of these differences. This decline reaches its peak when the process of "boundary shifting" occurs, in the course of which individuals who once were members of different groups, become members of a newly defined common group (Alba and Nee 2003).

Understanding the occurrence of "boundary shifting" to represent the final stage of assimilation, Alba and Nee (1999) present what appears to be a different conceptualization of the assimilation process than the one conceived of by earlier accounts in the classical assimilation perspective. Assimilation is no longer viewed as the adoption of the dominant culture by the minorities, but rather as a more reciprocal process implying changes in both the dominant and the minority group. However, although Alba and Nee consider the mainstream as negotiable and flexible, they still assume that it serves as a dominant cultural core to which all immigrants orient themselves. Thus, in effect, the authors do not manage to incorporate the ideas put forward by the segmented assimilation perspective into their framework. Their theory remains incomplete and unable to deal with cases which do not adhere to this assumption (Esser 2003).

One development reaching beyond these limitations is the intergenerational theory of integration developed by Esser (see e.g. Esser 2003). The starting point for the intergenerational theory of integration is the assumption that like all individuals, immigrants too strive to maximize their physical well-being, as well as their social approval (see e.g. Lindenberg 1989). These two basic needs are typically provided through the production of some culturally acknowledged goals that are considered within the specific society as prerequisites for them. Following Merton (1968), Esser maintains that in most modern societies, the main cultural goal to which individuals, including those with immigration background, aim is economic success. This goal is then utilized for the production of both physical well-being and social support (Esser 1999a).

Newcomers into a foreign society, immigrants typically suffer from a disadvantage in their ability to accumulate the structural means needed for the production of the cultural goal within their new social environment. Specifically, they often lack the skills, knowledge and sometimes also the 'right appearance' needed for their production. This disadvantage derives primarily from the fact that the means the immigrants brought with them from their old social environment, do not always match those used in the new one. For example, while providing them with sufficient job opportunities in their country of origin, the migrants' original educational degrees may be less valued in the new society. They will probably be able to find some job; however, the material utilities from this job will be relatively low. In such a case immigrants have two alternatives of action: they may remain with their disadvantaged educational degree and accept the lower gains it can provide them with. Alternatively, they may invest in acquiring a higher educational degree.

The intergenerational theory of integration proposes to consider the different factors involved in the decisions individuals make regarding their investment strategies. This consideration is defined within a rational choice framework where preferences are judged by their potential utilities, derived from the individual's own properties and relevant contextual characteristics (see e.g. Esser 2003). The main advantage of this perspective over the integration theories presented before is that it provides a unified, simple and complete explanation for many different consequences of integration on the individual level. Aimed to derive the components shaping the immigrants' investment preferences from their social environment and individual characteristics, the theory also creates causal bridges between them. The intergenerational theory of integration does not remain on the individual level and the mechanisms explaining the processes taking place there. It additionally provides a complete account of the aggregated consequences of these individual choices on the societal level (Kalter and Granato 2002).

All of the theories discussed above refer to varied extents also to the issue under investigation in this dissertation, namely ethnic identification. In the context of the classical assimilation perspective, ethnic identification is considered to represent one dimension in which assimilation occurs, transforming the immigrant from a foreigner to a member of the dominant society. In the context of segmented assimilation Portes and Rumbaut report that among some of their respondents, in place of a transition from identification in terms of the minority to identification as Americans, the opposite transition was found. They describe this transition as 'reactive ethnicity', associated with the disadvantaged and discriminating context in which these respondents grow (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191).

While sociological accounts on ethnic identification in the context of integration typically try to establish its relationships with other dimensions of integration, in social-psychology, the focus is placed on its contribution to the immigrants' psychological well-being. Debates within social psychology about role of acculturation for immigrants' psychological well-being can be understood to reflect debates about the role of structural assimilation for immigrants' ability to secure their material well-being. While some maintain that acculturation can only be utilized if immigrants assimilate into the mainstream, others are of the opinion that minority related resources, can also secure the immigrants' psychological needs. My dissertation is focused on the formation of ethnic identification, and not its consequences. For this reason, I will use the next section to primarily discuss the conceptual consequences of this debate, for the phenomenon I seek to explain.

3.3 Theories of acculturation

Acculturation represents "the process of bidirectional change that takes place when two ethno-cultural groups come into contact with one another" (Bourhis et al. 1997: p.370). It typically refers to immigrants' cultural, social, and identificational or emotional integration. In a review of the different conceptualizations of acculturation and its utilities for immigrants' psychological well-being, Lafromboise and her colleagues distinguish between five different models: the assimilation model, the acculturation model, the alternation model, and the multicultural, and fusion models (Lafromboise et al. 1993).

The assimilation model is by and large an application of the classical assimilation perspective to the context of psychological well-being. According to this model, as immigrants arrive into a new society, they are isolated and alienated and suffer from cultural stress. As they successfully assimilate into the new cultural group, these social-psychological problems disappear. Assimilation is here understood as the immigrants' increasing adoption of the culture and norms of the receiving society, and their parallel decreasing commitment to the culture and norms of their ethnic origin.

The assimilationist model of acculturation is considered to be extremely challenging. First, although willing to accept the receiving society's culture, immigrants may be excluded by its members, thus unable to accomplish the move assimilation requires from them. Second, the willingness to dissociate from one's culture of origin may lead to one's social exclusion from it, thus suggesting extremely high costs. Finally, the need to learn new behaviors and discard those one was practicing before immigration may lead to high levels of psychological stress.

Studies exploring the process acculturation within the assimilationist approach were often able to demonstrate that individuals, caught between the two cultures show, as expected, lower levels of

psychological adjustment. However, they also reported that many acculturating individuals found more creative ways to deal with the psychological challenges they were facing than following the assimilative path. For some individuals, separation and ethnic retention were preferable, whereas others managed to 'live in both worlds' at the same time and to the same level. Particularly the later acculturation pattern has led to understanding that the acquisition of a new culture is not conditioned upon losing one's connections with its heritage culture. This understanding has paved the way for the development of a two dimensional model for acculturation, that no longer conditioned the acquisition of one culture on the renunciation of the other (Lafromboise et al. 1993).

Four of the models listed by Lafromboise and her colleagues (1993) in their review are based on this two dimensional postulation of acculturation. Although all four models agree that acculturation may take different forms, they differ in their postulation of the hierarchical relations between the two cultures, the linearity of their relationship and the setting in which acculturation occurs.

Like the assimilationist model, the *acculturation* model also underlines the unidirectional and hierarchical relations between the immigrants' own ethnic culture and the culture of the receiving society. It too, focuses on the process through which minority group members adopt the culture of the majority. However, in contrast to the assimilation model, the acculturation model acknowledges that although becoming skilled in the ways of the dominant culture, minority group members will always retain their minority identification. In fact, studies conducted within this tradition demonstrate that the psychological well-being of minority group members who retain their minority ethnic culture is better than that found among those who lost their association with it (Ablon 1964; Phinney et al. 2001a).

The idea that ethnic retention does not contradict or hinder the acculturation of immigrants represents the core assumption made also in the next three models. All three assume that an individual can value, practice, and identify with two different cultures at the same time, and that one's association with each culture does not necessarily depend on its association with the other. Berry, proposed to phrase these cultural preferences in two questions: "is it considered to be of value to maintain the cultural identity and characteristics of the minority cultural group?" and "is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups and their cultures?" (Doná and Berry 1994). Based on immigrants' answers to these questions, four alternative outcomes emerge (see figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: The fourfold typology of acculturation

		Maintenance of culture of heritage	
		+	-
Maintenance of dominant culture	+	Integration	Assimilation
	-	Separation	Marginalization

As demonstrated in figure 3.1, when the answer to the first question is positive but the answer to the second is negative, the outcome is cultural separation. The opposite pattern implies cultural assimilation. When both questions are answered positively a pattern of integration emerges and if both cultures are not important, the outcome is cultural marginalization (Berry 1997).

Berry's model differs from the acculturation model discussed above in that it no longer assumes the relations between the minority and the dominant cultures to be unidirectional and hierarchical. Developed in the specific context of Canada, Berry's acculturation model does assume however that acculturation occurs under the condition of "institutional sharing between cultures". This assumption serves to distinguish between his particular model, also known as the 'multicultural' model, and other variants of the acculturation model that do not assume such specific institutional settings (Lafromboise et al. 1993: p.401).

One such variant is the *alternation* model that diverts from the multicultural model and from the acculturation model in its strong emphasis on the cultural context. The model questions whether individuals can be affiliated with two cultures at the same time, across situations, and instead proposes that individuals' cultural affiliations change according to the context they are in. Another variant of the acculturation model is the *fusion* model. Unlike the former two models this one is based on the assumption that when cultures meet, they fuse one into the other in a similar sense to that described in the 'melting pot' concept. Like in the melting pot concept however, the fusion process discussed within this model, assumes that it is the minority culture which fuses into the larger cultural framework. For this reason, the fusion model is in fact closer to the assimilation model than it is to any of the two dimensional conceptualization of acculturation (Lafromboise et al. 1993).

Notwithstanding the differences between the four models described here, Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001) claim that they suffer from two common problems. The first problem is a methodological one, related with the construction of the fourfold typology and its logical consequences. Here, the authors stress that the items used to construct this typology often suggest more than four outcomes. Their grouping into four categories is based on assumptions which are often not tested. Second, they claim that even if one accepts the more parsimonious fourfold typology conceived within the acculturation literature, this typology is flowed in its treatment of the so called marginal alternative (Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh 2001). This pattern of acculturation represents the individuals' choice to disengage from both possible cultures (Berry et al. 2002).

Framing this fourth alternative as associated with cultural distress, psychological marginalization or anomy, the two dimensional model falsely assumes that ethnic identification must be a central part of individuals' self-concepts. Alternatively, marginalization could be understood to imply the

individuals' choice in some alternative way of social identification which is not associated with their cultural belonging (Rudmin 2003; Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh 2001). For example, one could decide not to identify as a national compatriot but rather in terms of one's gender or occupation.

Even though I acknowledge these weaknesses of the two dimensional conceptualization of acculturation, I still use it to model ethnic identification in my own work. Integrating the later critique made about this conceptualization of ethnic identification, I understand the marginalization alternative as indicating the low value of the available ethnic identification for the immigrants and not their psychological distress. This understanding derives directly from the theoretical model presented in the next chapter.

4. A Comprehensive Perspective to Ethnic Identification Preferences among Immigrants and their Descendents

Studies on immigrants' ethnic identifications, propose different empirical conditions to explain them. On the individual level, studies refer to immigrants' structural, social and cultural integration, their generational status, and the number of years passed since their immigration. The immigrants' origin represents another important individual property determining their ethnic identification. On the structural level, studies discuss the characteristics of the context of the receiving society like the formal immigration policy in the receiving country, and the perceived or actual attitudes of members of receiving society towards immigrants. Important as they are, these studies fail to provide a causal explanation for the relations between the conditions they specify and the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents (Padila and Perez 2003).

Nauck (2008) proposes that in order to narrow this gap, existing social psychological models explaining social identities, should be combined with a sociological theory of action, encored within the specific immigration-integration context. In this section I present an attempt to provide such an integrative model. To clarify the specific causal bridges between ethnic identification and other integration related characteristics I integrate existing social psychological models explaining social identities. These different models are combined into a common framework utilizing a variant of rational choice theory.

This chapter opens with an overview of the state of the art in immigrants' ethnic identification research, after which I discuss the remaining gaps in the field. I then propose my own approach to the explanation of ethnic identification preferences, which narrows some of them. This approach applies the subjective expected utility model, for the study of ethnic identification. After stressing the advantages of rational choice theory to the study of ethnic relations and ethnic identifications, I shortly discuss cognitive learning theories often suggested as an alternative framework for the explanation of ethnic identification. Specifically, I demonstrate that once the mechanisms of social learning are stressed, it can be understood as one application of rational choice and not an alternative for it.

Once these steps are taken, I proceed to integrate the three main social psychological perspectives explaining social identity into the subjective expected utility model. These approaches are used to determine the mechanisms through which the expected utilities of ethnic identification are calculated. In a final step I return to the main context of this research namely integration, and specify the causal mechanisms associating immigrants' integration related characteristics with their ethnic identification preferences.

4.1 Predicting ethnic identification among immigrants and their descendants: the state of the art

Individual predictors of ethnic identification among immigrants and their descendents

One of the main individual determinants of ethnic identification is the respondents' cultural integration within which language skills and language preferences play a central role (Giles et al. 1976; Taylor et al. 1973). Rumbaut (1994), and Portes and Rumbaut (2001: p.113-143) report for example that among first and second generation immigrant youth, those who are more proficient in English then in their mother tongue, show lower odds to identify in terms of their national origin (see also Golash-Boza 2006). Remennick (2004) finds likewise that Hebrew language proficiency increases Russian immigrants' attachment to Israeli society. Proficiency in the mother tongue is correspondingly found to be associated with increased levels of ethnic minority identification (Nauck 2001; Phinney et al. 2001b; Sears et al. 2003). However, studying the Dutch and the German societies, Vedder (2005) as well as Becker (2009), were unable to find confirmation to this causal path in their studies.

Another important individual factor associated with immigrants' ethnic identification preferences is their social integration. The respondents' social interactions and social ties in the receiving society are typically studied referring to their friendship patterns, or the structure and composition of their social networks. Using the later type of measurement, Lubbers and colleagues (2007) report that the odds of first generation immigrants in Spain to use generic labels to ethnically identify, increase with the percentage of Spanish friends in their networks. Oropesa and her colleagues (2008) also find that inter-ethnic friendships increase the odds of respondents with Puerto Rican ethnic background to prefer a pan-ethnic over a Puerto Rican self-label (see also Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191). Nauck (2001) reports similar findings for second generation immigrants in Germany.

In the same study, Lubbers and her colleagues (2007) report that the increasing number of Spanish friends in their respondents' networks also decreases their odds to identify using the label of their ethnic minority group. Walters and colleagues (2007) also report that a few or no co-ethnic friends decrease levels of ethnic minority identification among first generation immigrants in Canada (see also Bochner et al. 1977). Looking at interactions with co-ethnic peers, Phinney and her colleagues (2001b) find that they increase second generation immigrants' ethnic minority identification (see also Quintana et al. 2010; Sears et al. 2003).

A third commonly used predictor of immigrants' ethnic identification preferences, is their structural position. The relevance of this predictor for these preferences remains however questionable and empirical evidence for it is relatively scarce (Harris 1995; Phinney and Devich-Navarro 1997; Walters

et al. 2007). One exception is found in the work of Portes and Rumbaut who report the parents' SES to significantly decrease the odds of second generation immigrants to identify using pan-ethnic (e.g. Latino) labels (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191). Weiss (2007), also reports that children of immigrants in Austria, with low SES, demonstrate lower levels of Austrian identification. Similar findings were also reported by Demo and Hughes (1990), referring to racial identifications of African-Americans in the US. The racial identity of African-Americans was also found to be lower among individuals whose own income and education levels were high (Broman et al. 1988).

Using education as an indicator for structural integration, Bisin and colleagues (2006) find that educational qualifications acquired in the sending country decrease ethnic minority identification among first generation immigrants to England. Studying first and second generation Hispanic immigrants in the US, Golash Boza (2006) finds similar trends. Lubbers and colleagues (2007) also find that tertiary education, decreases the odds of first generation immigrants' to identify in terms of their ethnic origin (see also Maliepaard et al. 2010 for the Netherlands; and Nekby and Rödin 2007 for Sweden).

In Germany, Constant and her colleagues (2006) report that the levels of German identification among first generation immigrants are higher if they were educated abroad. These authors also find lower levels of ethnic minority identification among first generation immigrants who acquired low educational degree in Germany (Zimmermann et al. 2007a). Similar patterns were also found among those holding a German university degree (Constant et al. 2007).

Three additional individual predictors often used to explain integration processes in general and ethnic identification in particular, are the number of years passed since immigration, the immigrants' age at immigration, and their generational status. Masuda et al. (1970) report that second and later generation Japanese immigrants in the US show higher levels of American identification. Alba (1990) found similar trends looking into a wider sample of immigrants in the US (see also Sears et al. 2003).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001: p.147-191) likewise found that US born respondents, show higher odds to label themselves 'American' or to use hyphenated labels compared to respondents born outside the US (see also Rumbaut 2004). Rumbaut (2004), also reports that progressive generational status leads to lower levels of ethnic minority identification. Ono (2002), who studied US born persons of Mexican origin also reports that the chances of these individuals to label themselves 'Mexican' as opposed to 'American' decrease between the second and fourth generation (see also Fuligni et al. 2005; Golash-Boza 2006; Maliepaard et al. 2010).

Only little is known about the consequences of different generational statuses to ethnic identification within the German context. In their descriptive analysis of the immigrant sample of the German Socioeconomic Panel, Diehl and Schnell (2006) found higher levels of German identification among children of immigrants born in Germany, compared with those born outside it. However, they do not separate between young and older arrivals.

With regard to the number of years passed since immigration, Walters and colleagues (2007) find that as years pass, the identification of immigrants in Canada as Canadians slightly increases (see also Golash-Boza 2006 for the US). Lubbers and colleagues (2007) accordingly report that long term immigrants in Spain, are less probable to label themselves in pure ethnic or what they call a generic form (using a foreign category that is not their nationality or ethnicity) compared to new arrivals.

Using the 2001 wave of the German Socioeconomic Panel, Zimmermann and colleagues (2007b) report that the number years passed since immigration, serves to explain movements of first generation immigrants from the separation ethnic identification type to integration, or marginalization. Thus, as the years since immigration pass, the differences between first generation immigrants' ethnic minority and German identification levels seem to fade away (See also Zimmermann et al. 2007a). Based on cross-sectional analysis, these studies describe differences in the ethnic identification preferences of different respondents due to their differing periods of stay in the receiving society. They do not model the changes these individuals experience over time.

The immigrants' ethnic background serves as another predictor of their ethnic identification preferences. In the US, the usual divide is between African, or Caribbean and other black ethno-racial groups, Latinos, Asians, and other white immigrant groups. Studies report that members of the later (white) group typically demonstrate easier more swift integration into the American mainstream than members of the former immigrant groups (see e.g. Fuligni et al. 2005; Gans 1992; Min and Kim 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191; Sears et al. 2003). In Europe, it is claimed that immigrants arriving from Islamic countries show different integration patterns compared with other immigrants (Zolberg and Long 1999). Individuals from the former group typically show lower levels of identification with the dominant culture (see e.g. Kecskes 2000; Nekby et al. 2007; Saroglou and Galand 2004; Zimmermann et al. 2007b).

Still in the context of origin related differences, studies indicate that perceived visual similarity or dissimilarity to receiving society members also matters for the formation of ethnic identifications. Individuals who believe they have the typical "ethnic look" usually identify as members of their ascribed ethnic minority (Bodenhorn and Ruebeck 2003; Golash-Boza and Darity 2007; Landale and Orpesa 2002; Waters 1990).

Finally, another individual characteristic determining immigrants' ethnic identifications is their familial context. In their study on Chinese immigrant adolescents in the US and Australia, Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) report that parental behavior predicts children's ethnic pride and ethnic minority identification. Specifically, the authors note that family environments which provide the children with warmth, control and autonomy, also increase their ethnic minority identification (see also Liebkind et al. 2004). Bisin and colleagues (2006) also argue that parents have a strong influence on their children's ethnic identification strategies (see also Koh et al. 2009).

Due to the important role of the family reported in these and other studies, some researchers have engaged in exploring the consequences of leaving the family, on the ethnic identification of young immigrants or immigrant descendants. In a study conducted among college students with Latino background, Either and Deaux (1990; 1994) explored ethnic identification and other social group processes. They find first that there is a negative correlation between the respondents' family background and the extent to which their ethnic minority identification is threatened. Second, they report that the association between the characteristics of the family and ethnic minority identification decrease over time. Both findings imply that the family can be understood as a means to sustain the ethnic minority identification.

Structural predictors of ethnic identification among immigrants and their descendents

As suggested above, an important aspect of integration often associated with ethnic identification is the context of reception, with its structural and intergroup aspects. Within the context of integration, the inter-group context is represented first and foremost by the relations between individuals with immigration background and members of the receiving society.

Particularly important are aspects like perceived or actual experiences of discrimination, unjust treatment, prejudice and exclusion. Harris (1995) adds that in the context of racial integration, inter-racial contact can also be understood as determining the inter-group context. Inter-racial contact, reduces the perceived distance between groups, and contributes to the disappearance of prejudice, and other sources of inter-group hostility. It is thus often associated with increasing identification with the dominant culture (Demo and Hughes 1990).

Studies indicate that individuals who feel discriminated against or otherwise mistreated by members of the receiving society, often show low levels of identification with the dominant cultural group, or high levels of ethnic minority identification (Branscombe et al. 1999; Clément et al. 2006; Golash-Boza 2006; Golash-Boza and Darity 2007; Nauck 2001; Ono 2002; Pahl and Way 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut 1994; Sears et al. 2003; Tartakovsky 2009; Walters et al. 2007). Kinket and Verkuyten (1997) found that respondents, who went to a school in which cultural pluralism was

actively promoted, identified more with the receiving society compared to respondents from schools in which the topic was not treated. Immigrants' participation in a mixed German and migrant task force was found to have similar outcomes (Simon and Kampmeier 2002). Studies additionally report that perceived discrimination decreases levels of ethnic minority identification (Bisin et al. 2006; Liebkind et al. 2004).

A second indicator used to represent the informal nature of the context of reception is related with the characteristics of the immigrant community like its institutionalization, the extent to which it provides its members with social and material support, and the extent to which social norms are maintained within it. For example, Postmes and Branscombe (2002), found that African Americans who live in segregated communities, identify more with their black in-group due to feelings of acceptance by its members. Analogous findings were also reported by Keaton in her study of Muslim girls in Paris (1999) and by Ehrkamp in Germany (2005).

The consequences of formal policy to immigrants' ethnic identification preferences are particularly challenging to estimate empirically. This estimation requires either cross cultural comparisons, or long time periods during which changes in immigration policies occurred. Effects of such indicators are thus usually derived indirectly from differences observed between immigrants on the individual level, or discussed from a macro level (see e.g. Bauböck 1994; Brubacker 1989).

The studies described above, suggest a variety of determinants for immigrants' ethnic identification preferences. Most of them however, do not explain why these determinants provide the outcomes they observe. One of the reasons for this gap, and its persistence over the many years of integration research, is that the theories used to account for these associations, namely the classical assimilation theory and the segmented assimilation perspective, are themselves incomplete. Specifically, both perspectives have invested a lot in specifying the conditions shaping immigrants' lives, but have directed less attention to the mechanisms underlying the association between these conditions and individual action.

This important task was undertaken by Esser (1990) in his intergenerational theory of integration. This perspective does not stop at the classification of the individual and structural factors determining the boundaries within which individuals make their assimilation choices. Utilizing a variant of rational choice, namely the subjective expected utility (SEU) theory, it proceeds to postulate their causal workings. The intergenerational theory of integration was successfully applied to account for the structural integration of immigrants, and for their cultural or cognitive integration in the form of language acquisition (Chiswick 1998; Esser 2008; Kalter and Granato 2002). The goal of the next

section is to present a theoretical model that applies its principles to the emotional dimension of integration with the help of social-psychological theories of social identity.

4.2 A utility based explanation for ethnic identification

Waters (1990), pointed out that the adoption or maintenance of an ethnic identity, serves as a central goal in immigrants' integration process, like education or language, and can be understood as a potential way for immigrants to improve their social production functions. In other words, she suggests that ethnic identity can be understood as a mean of production to the extent that like material resources, it too, determines the chances individuals may have to increase their physical well-being as well as their social approval.

The understanding of ethnic identity as utility based is however not new and was not created specifically for the context of immigration. As Burgess (1978) suggests, it was already reflected in the works of Cohen (1974), and Patterson (1975) to name two. According to this conceptualization of ethnicity, membership in or identification with a certain group is associated with access to the goods shared by members of the group. It is also related with the approval of both in-group and out-group members, of the behaviors and attitudes one holds and practices in different social contexts. To the extent that ethnic identifications can be chosen, there is therefore sufficient reason to assume that this choice is rational.

Supporting the application of rational choice perspective for the study of ethnicity and ethnic identity, Hechter maintained that it suggests "the best hope for arriving at a higher degree of theoretical consensus in the field" (Hechter 1986: p.265). He proposes that unlike normative theories, rational choice considers the relations between social contexts and individual preferences and does not suffice at describing the structural constraints the first places upon the second. It does so by presenting the logic, or the mechanisms behind individuals' preferences (see also Wimmer 2008).

Rational choice, additionally accounts for the dynamic nature of ethnic identification. Assuming that individuals seek to maximize the utilities of their ethnic identification, it requires the specification of the factors shaping these utilities. More importantly, it entails a clear distinction between those factors which increase and those which decrease them (Hechter 1986). Finally, as a general theory of action bridging between contextual conditions and individual preferences, the rational choice perspective provides a basis on which different social and psychological theories of social identity formation and change, converge.

The application of rational choice theory with its strong emphasis on individual preferences in the field of immigrants' ethnic identities is still in its infancy, and was primarily pursued within

economics (e.g. Akerlof and Kranton 2000; Bisin et al. 2006; Bodenhorn and Ruebeck 2003; Mason 2004). Excluding existing theories of social identity from their theoretical explanations, these works have however overlooked important aspects of ethnic identity formation. There are also some accounts associating ethnic identification and rational choice within sociology and social psychology, however, they too present only a limited understanding of the factors shaping ethnic identification preferences of immigrants (see e.g. Esser 1990; Skrobaneck 2009). In the next section I present my own theoretical model, in an attempt to narrow these gaps. Before I present the theoretical model, I first provide a short discussion on social learning and its place in it.

4.3 Social learning, an alternative to the rational choice explanation of ethnic identification preferences?

The adoption of a new social identification or a change in the way individuals perceive of their group membership is understood by sociological and social psychological theories as a way for individuals to adjust to changing social contexts (Darity et al. 2006; Schwartz et al. 2005; Simon 2004). This process is sometimes described in terms of social learning (Berry 1997; Boekestijn 1988; Smith 1991b; Tartakovsky 2009).

Social learning is postulated in cognitive theory as a process that may take three different forms: the first is based on trial and error where one acts in a certain way and evaluates the utilities of this action when encountering its consequences. The second is based on observational learning where one learns through observing other people's trails and errors. The third is associated with the use of symbols and meaning systems to hypothetically predict consequences of actions and occurrences (Bandura 1986). The former two alternatives are associated with the instrumental learning process. They are related to the creation of cognitive associations between certain acts and their consequences. The later alternative is more closely related with the conditioning learning process that is based on the production of associations between certain properties or symbols within given situations (Esser 1999b).

While the first alternative is the most obvious one, it is not the most dominant one. This is due to the rather costly outcomes it may yield compared with the other two alternatives. Observational learning, allows individual to evaluate the utilities of a certain action through observing its consequences to others. It thus relives them from having to suffer the costs by trying out the same action themselves. The ability of humans to create, understand and use symbols, allow individuals to refer to symbolic solutions to the problems they encounter and use their estimated outcomes as proxies for their expected usefulness. This form of learning thus also provide individuals a way to avoid costly or risky actions (Bandura 1986: p.18-20).

All three alternatives of social learning share the understanding that it is based on individual preferences. In the process of learning, individuals conceive of some future time perspective and its potential consequences, and evaluate them compared to the present. Their behavior, whether acting themselves, or using observational or symbolic information, is oriented towards the realization of the better of two alternatives: a current and known present or a potentially risky future (Bandura 1986; Homans 1974). Learning, thus involves the consideration of two alternatives based on the potential gains realized by each, and the respective costs involved in their realization process. The consideration of the alternatives is also associated with individuals' abilities to evaluate their chances to realize the potential gains from each, using self-reflection. These judgments play a central role in determining which alternative they should pursue.

The three components of the learning process described above, tap directly to the components of the subjective expected utility theory: first, an investment is oriented towards an attractive or useful property one is motivated to invest in. Second, one needs to believe one has high probabilities to succeed in gaining the expected utilities of the investment. Finally, one also needs to consider the costs endured by the investment.[5] Studies applying learning theories to the context of language integration among immigrants often break the subjective success probability component into two elements: exposure represents the individuals' exposure to certain resources associated with the investment target. Efficiency, represents the extent to which one can make use of these resources (Chiswick 1998; Esser 2008). Social learning thus does not represent an alternative explanation to the emergence of ethnic or other social identifications. It rather represents a specific application of the wider investment model suggested by the subjective expected utility model to it.

4.4. Modeling ethnic identification preferences within the subjective expected utility model

The two dimensional structure of ethnic identification, composed from the individual's identification with its ethnic minority group, and its identification with the dominant cultural group actually suggests two alternative investments. No matter which type of identification is selected, identification with the ethnic minority or with the dominant majority, its selection will imply that it is expected to have higher utilities for the individual compared to its erstwhile identification.

[5] The understanding of ethnic identification strategies as an outcome of utility calculations is also present in Wimmer's (2008) multilevel process for the making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries.

Assuming for a moment that the status quo is represented by the individuals' minority ethnic identification (ME) and that investment in identification with the dominant ethnic group is represented by (DE) the two alternatives take the following form:

(4.1) $EU(ME) = U(ME)$

(4.2) $EU(DE) = p(DE)U(DE)+(1-p(DE))U(ME) – C(DE)$

Equation 4.1, describes the status quo condition of the individual in question where its expected utilities from ethnic minority identification (EU(ME)), are equal to the actual utilities it is gaining from it (U(ME)). Equation 4.2, describes the alternative investment condition for the individual. Its expected utilities from identification with the dominant ethnic group (EU(DE)) are determined by its subjective success probabilities represented by p(DE), and the expected costs to be endured if it decides to invest, represented by C(DE). To calculate the expected utilities of the investment one must also consider the possibility that the investment will fail, represented by the multiplication of 1-p(DE), the probabilities of the investment to fail, and the utilities of the original status quo condition (U(ME)).

As suggested above, the decision to engage in an investment depends on its being the more attractive alternative. In the example above, an individual is expected to engage in an investment only under the condition that EU(DE) > EU(ME), or more generally, if EU(investment) > EU(status quo). Therefore, a more general investment rule can be specified according to which:

(4.3) $p(DE) (U(DE)-U(ME)) – C(DE) > 0$

Three main conditions now emerge as necessary for an investment to occur: high motivation, that derives primarily from the relations EU(inv) - EU(status quo); high subjective success probabilities, represented by p(DE); and low costs, represented by C(DE).

Emotional integration in the form of ethnic identification does not represent an obvious gain compared to holding no ethnic identification. This is due to the fact that under some circumstances, dissociating from a certain ethnic group will be the better alternative to identifying with it (Simon 2004: p.73-99). For this reason, the process of integration may also lead individuals to dissociate from whatever ethnic identification they might hold, without necessarily increasing their identification with an alternative ethnic group.

For purposes of clarification, let EU(NME) represent the expected utility of dissociating from one's ethnic minority group through decreasing identification with it. This alternative is competing with a status quo of holding an ethnic minority identification with a given expected utility (EU(ME)).

(4.4) $EU(ME) = U(ME)$

(4.5) $EU(NME) = p(NME)U(NME)+(1-p(NME))U(ME) – C(NME)$

Also in this case, an investment will only take place if:

(4.6) $p(NME)\,(U(NME)-U(ME)) – C(NME) > 0$

A final property of ethnic identifications that should be mentioned at this point is that they are not understood as mutually exclusive. As elaborated in earlier parts of this dissertation, individuals can and sometimes hold both a strong identification with their ethnic minority, and a strong identification with the dominant ethnic group. Thus, an investment in one does not always imply the desertion of the other.

Within the context of the two dimensional conceptualization of ethnic identification (e.g. Berry 1997), a change to one's ethnic identification implies two separate forms of investment. One is related with individuals' identification with their erstwhile group, and the other with their identification with the alternative group. An investment may have consequences to each of these paths separately. It may lead to one's dissociation from its erstwhile group, and it may lead to its association with another group. The choice an individual makes in one path is not necessarily consequential for the choice it makes regarding the other.

For this reason, ethnic identification change may lead to three different outcomes: first, individuals may dissociate from their ethnic minority, but not invest in increasing their identification with the dominant ethnic group (marginalization). Second, they may hold on to or increase their ethnic minority identification while at the same time increasing their identification with the dominant ethnic group (multiple-inclusion). Individuals may also leave their erstwhile group, and join a new ethnic group (assimilation). In a situation where the status quo implies the higher expected utilities, a fourth outcome will emerge where individuals will maintain their identification with their erstwhile group, and decrease their identification with the alternative group, or maintain it at a low level (separation). I shell return to this point and specify which of the paths is predicted under what conditions and why, when I formalize the specific hypotheses predicting the respondents ethnic identification preferences.

In the next paragraphs, I demonstrate how this postulation of ethnic identification preferences, allows the incorporation of existing social psychological models explaining social identity into one coherent framework. These perspectives are used to define what increases or decreases the motivations, subjective success probabilities, and costs involved in immigrants' utility calculations, determining their ethnic identification preferences.

Social identity theory, suggests that the attractiveness of a social category depends on its ability to secure one's positive self-concept deriving from one's group membership and the comparative status of this group (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Individuals, who evaluate their social category positively compared to a relevant reference, are expected to be less motivated to invest in social identity alterations than individuals who evaluate their social category negatively. A negative evaluation is expected to motivate individuals to invest in social identity alterations in search for a more secured self-concept. Social identity theory suggests two alternative investment strategies, either on the individual level (social mobility) or on the group level (social change). While both are oriented towards improving ones' self-concept, the former strategy implies an investment in a new social group membership and the latter, in improving the status of the current one (Tajfel 1974).

These two alternatives of action can be directly related to Hirshman's (1970) concepts of 'exit' and 'voice' developed to describe individuals' behavior towards corporate actors in an economic system. 'Exit', is understood as an individual alternative, directed primarily to improve one's own position, which may lead to changes is the economic system only indirectly. 'Voice', is understood as a collective and political action that aims to change the system as a whole. The relations between these two concepts and those of social mobility and social change were described by Tajfel in the following way: "Social (individual) mobility corresponds to the belief in an easy and costless exit from one's social group; social change is the corresponding no-exit situation, which may determine the use of 'voice' in the attempt to change the existing unsatisfactory situation" (Tajfel 1981: p.294-295).

Although 'exit' and 'voice' are conceptually related to the processes of social mobility and social change, Tajfel (1975) maintains that they cannot be used as their synonyms. Exit and voice represent two alternatives of action, of differing relative efficiency, aimed to prevent the decline in the functioning of some social institution. Social mobility and social change are however discussed as two extremes of a continuum of individuals' beliefs about the relations between the group they belong to and other groups.

Another important contribution of social identity theory to the subjective expected utility model is found in its propositions regarding the role of the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries. This component of Tajfel's (1974) social identity theory is expected to play a central role shaping the disadvantaged group members' decisions for or against an investment (see also Wimmer 2008). Permeable boundaries, through which individuals can freely move, will make an investment in social mobility more attractive. Impermeable boundaries will make it impossible, leading individuals towards social change. Empirical findings accordingly demonstrate that perceived permeable

boundaries decrease individuals' in-group identification, whereas impermeable boundaries increase them (Blanz et al. 1998; Mummendey et al. 1999).

The perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries is postulated in social identity theory as a factor which may increase or decrease individuals' expected chances to gain a better self-concept from social mobility or social change. As it increases so do the individuals' odds to gain from social mobility. With its decrease, the odds to gain from social change increase. This relationship between the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries and the expected utilities of the investment implies that the former should be understood as determining the subjective success probabilities of the respective investment.[6]

In the context of immigrants' integration in Germany, the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries is predicted to be primarily affected by those factors understood to subjectively shape them (Tajfel 1978).[7] These factors are social sanctions placed by out-group or in-group members on individuals from the disadvantaged group, and value conflicts involved in moving from one social category to another.

Social identity theory has thus two important contributions for the utility oriented explanation of ethnic identity preferences: first, it suggests one determinant of individual's investment motivation. Second, it specifies potential indicators for the individuals' subjective success probabilities in gaining from this investment. Additional determinants of the motivations for ethnic identification preferences are also provided by the self-categorization theory. As I will shortly demonstrate, these may also be interpreted as tools for the subjective evaluations of individuals of their subjective probabilities to gain the expected utilities from their preferred strategy.

Emerging from the social identity theory, the *self-categorization theory* diverted the focus of social psychology from intergroup, to intra individual cognitive processes involved in social categorization. Discussing the criteria according to which a social category becomes salient as a behavioral and perceptual guide, the theory's primary focus is on the different factors determining individuals' 'emergent categorization' (Turner et al. 1987). Self-categorization theory additionally proposes a

[6] In many respects, my understanding of the permeability of the intergroup boundaries as a determinant of social mobility, taps into the concept of receptivity discussed by Esser in his own postulation of ethnic identity as an investment (Esser 1990: p.79).

[7] Tajfel also describes objective determinants of the permeability of the inter-group boundaries, describing for example institutional racial discrimination of the kind practiced in the US till the mid 1960s.

general framework for the internalization of social categories. Both of these aspects of the self-categorization theory are relevant for individuals' ethnic identification preferences. They represent internal processes corresponding to internal as well as external changes individuals experience or react to, potentially leading to changes in their self-categorization, and self-identification.

'Emergent categorization' is primarily determined by the salience of a specific categorization within a specific social context (Turner et al. 1987). Salience specifies the criteria upon which membership in a certain social category is decided, and the extent to which one expects its membership in it to be internally and externally confirmed. Determining whether the individual will gain the expected utilities from a specific category identification salience is understood to represent the subjective success probabilities component.

The ability of individuals to evaluate their chances to fit the membership criteria of some aspired group is also used in other models explaining individuals' changing identification preferences. Levine and his colleagues (1996) suggest that individuals, aspiring to change their social group membership need to poses the knowledge and skills relevant for the new group. Similarly, the five stage model proposes that when the conditions for membership in the aspired group are known, individuals possessing them are more likely to move (Write et al. 1990).

In both accounts, it is primarily the subjective success probabilities understood as a function of individuals' behaviors and attitudes, which determine whether they should expect to gain from their investment, or not. The more similar they are to the behaviors and attitudes of members of the aspired group, the higher are their chances for a successful move. Somewhat differentially from the self-categorization theory, these approaches understand the subjective success probabilities to be primarily externally oriented. They are governed by the individuals' subjectively estimated chances that members of the aspired group will accept it as a member.

In terms of the learning theory described above, the increasing similarities of individuals to one or another group, can be viewed as efficiency factors making the learning of an identity more successful. They imply a stronger basis on which one can interact with the aspired groups' members and reconfirm its compliance with their expectations and its own sense of being a part of this group.

Unlike emerging categorization, the process of internalization of a social category remains underdeveloped in the self-categorization theory. Based on the self-representation and cognitive dissonance theories, this process is understood to be similar to the internalization of an attitude and is thus related with individuals' need for consistency. Specifically, the behaviors and attitudes of individuals need to be coherent (Jones and Harris 1967).

Within the context of ethnic identification, Hogg and Mullin (1999) propose that in light of individual or contextual changes challenging individuals' 'fit' to some erstwhile group, they face inconsistency between their behaviors, and their social, or in this case ethnic self-categorization. For some, such inconsistencies are predicted to represent substantial threats to their sense of certainty in their social group membership. The authors specifically underline processes of relocation and immigration as such occasions, in the course of which an erstwhile category an individual belongs to no longer meaningfully fit to the social context it lives and acts in (Hogg and Mullin 1999).

In the course of their adaptation to a new social context, individuals typically internalize new features, behaviors or properties. These properties often motivate them to re-categorize, thus decreasing the uncertainty associated with their erstwhile category. Increasing the individuals' motivation to re categorize, I understand the internalization aspect of the self-categorization theory to represent a motivational component within my subjective expected utility model. Another component of the self-categorization theory associated with the motivation to invest in categorization is accessibility. This component implies that individuals, who expect a certain category to be particularly relevant or useful in a given context, will be more motivated to invest in it.

Self-categorization theory's propositions thus provide a theoretical conceptualization for the subjective internal reflections expected to assist individuals in their evaluation of their chances to realize the utilities of an investment. These same reflections may also affect the motivations of individuals to invest in a new social (ethnic) identification associated with the need for self-consistency and uncertainty reduction.

A third perspective explaining social identity is the sociological identity theory. Due to its more structural and macro level understanding of identity formation, this perspective suggests somewhat different factors to explain ethnic identification preferences of immigrants' and their descendents. This process is primarily associated with the nature of the interactions individuals are engaged in, and the people they interact with.

Identity theory proposes that persons have a wide variety of role-identities which they internalize as they take on different roles in their everyday lives. An investment in 'role-identity' is therefore not understood to represent the internalization of a specific role-identity, but the intended increase in its relative salience compared to other role-identities one holds. Within identity theory, salience is determined by three main components: role-specific self-esteem, the relative commitment one has towards a specific role, and one's ability to confirm this particular role-identity in varied social interactions with varied counter-roles. These three components are expected to determine whether or not an investment will take place.

Role specific self-esteem is understood to represent the individual's subjective self-evaluations attached to the different roles it has. It is thus predicted to represent a motivational component. If an individual faces a choice between holding a role-identity that is not rewarding in terms of this self-evaluation and one that is, the expected utility of the later will be higher.

Commitment, represents the qualitative and quantitative significance of one role-identity to the different interaction partners, or network members, a person has. It is thus used as a measure of the centrality of a certain role-identity, in individuals' everyday lives. The higher the significance of a role-identity to a person's social relations, the more committed is that person to it, and the less willing to renounce this role, or the role-identity associated with it (Stryker and Burke 2000). From a subjective expected utility perspective, commitment represents the costs attached to dissociation from a certain role-identity. So long as the costs are relatively high, no change will occur, and the individual will maintain its current role-identity hierarchy. Once the costs are removed, a change will be more beneficial.[8]

The salience of a certain role-identity also depends on the extent to which the meanings derived from it support the assumptions on which one's interactions with others are based (Burke and Cast 1997). This particular determinant of salience is based on the ability of a given role-identity to represent differences between persons and their interaction partners that sustain the relevance of the roles all play within the interaction. This evaluation is predicted to depend on one's behaviors, and on the situation itself.

As in the case of self-categorization, here too, attitudinal and behavioral changes individuals experience can also be associated with the increasing efficiency with which they expect to learn a new skill. In order for a role-identity to become more salient, an individuals' mere exposure to interactions where the role is relevant is not enough. The individual will be more successful in realizing the expected gains from a new role-identity only once it also adheres to the more practical expectations associated with it, in terms of attitudes and behaviors.

In some attribution theories, as well as some accounts written within identity theory, individuals are more likely to change their behavior to fit their role-identity expectations, than to change their role-

[8] This understanding of commitment also fits more cognitively based accounts related to its workings discussed among others by Kiesler (1986) and Gerard (1986).

identity to fit their behaviors and attitudes (Stryker and Serpe 1982; Swann and Read 1981). Burke and Cast (1997) suggest that the later type of change is particularly likely in situations of transition, when individuals are called to adjust themselves to new roles or modify old roles. The context of integration, in which ethnic identities are constantly contested, may represent one such situation.

The fourth theoretical framework I find useful for an explanation of emotional integration of immigrants is Erikson's (1959) developmental theory, but more specifically, the way it was extended by Phinney (1990) and Schwartz and his colleagues (2005). The main idea of this perspective is that the formation of a cultural identity, and of ethnic identity as one type of it, is based primarily on exchanges between the individual and the social context. Contextual changes are therefore postulated as inspiring individuals to engage in new interactions, and seek guidance about how they should behave in them. Such changes present increasing freedom for an individual to make new identity choices (Schwartz et al. 2005).

Particularly significant in this regard are 'life course transitions' representing changes individuals experience or make in their lives as part of their becoming of age. As suggested earlier in this dissertation, transitions associated with emerging adulthood are particularly associated with individuals' changing self-conceptualizations and among them their ethnic identifications.

Emerging adulthood is marked by a variety of events. Given the importance of intergenerational relations in integration research, and the role of the household in shaping young immigrants' attitudes and self-conceptualizations, I find the move of young adults out of their parents' home to be a suitable event for the context of this dissertation (see Syed and Azmitia 2009). The key to gaining insight into how this contextual change shapes young immigrants' ethnic identification preferences is found in bridging between the changing social contexts it implies and individuals' preferences within them. Assuming as before that these preferences are aimed at utility maximization, I find the subjective expected utility model to be a suitable tool to bridge between them. The application of the subjective expected utility model requires, once again, the specification of the individual mechanisms associating the two, in terms of motivations, subjective success probabilities, and costs.

The move out of the parents' home is in this regard, predicted to imply a decrease in individuals' need to comply with the expectation of their parents. In terms of social production functions, they no longer depend on their parents to secure their physical well-being, and they are also less dependent on them for social support. Framed within a subjective expected utility model, leaving the parental household is therefore associated with the costs involved in changing an identity.

The association between leaving the parental home and the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and immigrant descendents may also derive from a motivational incentive. During emerging adulthood, individuals are understood to seek greater distinctions from their parents. Relying on studies that demonstrate that adult first generation immigrants tend to hold stronger ethnic minority identifications (e.g. Min and Kim 2009), it is thus plausible to predict that in search of an independent self-conceptualization, the younger generations will dissociate from this group.

As suggested in the opening of this section, the application of an expected utility model to the process of ethnic identification formation and change creates a general framework which accounts for a variety of social and psychological perspectives. Their integration into this rational choice variant, serves to understand how the different individual and contextual changes associated with the process of integration, are expected to shape the integrating person's ethnic identification preferences. A short summary of the different components in each theory and the mechanism through which they are predicted to work is presented in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 suggests the following general expectations: an investment in an ethnic identification is expected to occur when it has the potential to provide individuals with a positive social self-concept. The theories discussed above suggest two main determinants of the relations between ones' self-concept and its social identification. The first is associated with relative the status of the group one identifies with or the role one holds. In the context of ethnic identification, membership in a disadvantaged ethnic group is predicted to promote an investment. Similarly, unsatisfactory role-specific self-esteem is expected to promote an increase in the salience of an alternative role-identity.

The second factor predicted to increase the motivation for an investment, is the ability of a respective ethnic identification to provide one with better tools for self-regulation and self-consistency. As ethnic identification becomes more or less internalized into a persons' self-conceptualization, that person's ability to gain a positive self-concept from it will increase or decrease respectively. Accessibility, proposed by self-categorization theory, is similarly predicted to represent the motivation component. Finally, I also expect the move away from the parental home to predict increasing motivation of emerging adult immigrants to engage in social mobility.

The ability to secure a positive self-concept through identification with a specific ethnic group is not always feasible. It depends, as figure 4.1 demonstrates on several subjectively evaluated properties. Central among these properties is the extent to which a person feels that this ethnic group represents it, and can serve as a reference point for its behaviors and attitudes. This property is represented by the 'fit' component in the framework of self-categorization theory.

Figure 4.1 Mechanisms of social identity formation

Theory	Component	Mechanism
Social identity theory	Positive social self-concept	Motivation
	Perceived permeability of inter-group boundaries	Subjective success probabilities
Self-categorization theory	Self-regulation (uncertainty reduction)	Motivation
	'Fit' (comparative + normative)	Subjective success probabilities
	Accessibility	Motivation
Identity theory	Role specific self-esteem	Motivation
	Commitment	Costs
	Coherent meaning across interactions	Subjective success probabilities, and motivation
Developmental theory	Life course related contextual changes	Costs and motivations

A similar idea is also found within identity theory underlying the importance of the ability of a role-identity to coherently represent a person and its behaviors across interactions and situations. The subjective success probabilities are additionally represented by the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries. Correspondingly, as it increases, individuals' subjective success probabilities to gain the expected utilities from their investment will increase.

The costs of an investment in ethnic identification are predicted to be represented by the concept of commitment. Based on the propositions of identity theory, a strong commitment to a certain role-identity will increase the costs involved in decreasing its salience. Thus, a strong commitment to a role, will lead to the maintenance of the salience of the role-identity attached to it. A decreasing commitment to a role will decrease the costs associated with renouncing it, allowing one to decrease its salience in the role-identity hierarchy. As described above, the effect of individuals' move out of their parental home on their ethnic identification preferences is also associated with the decreasing costs of an investment is social mobility.

The next step in the development of the theoretical model to be tested below is to re connect it with the context of immigration. To accomplish this, I now demonstrate how the causal mechanisms specified before can provide the bridges linking the different integration related characteristics listed above, with the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents.

4.5 Bringing integration back in

The individual and structural indicators used in the literature to predict the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents, are understood below to represent the conditions under which individuals engage or do not engage in an investment. Put differently, they are expected to shape the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendants, through their

respective associations with the motivations, costs, and subjective success probabilities, guiding individuals' utility maximization orientations. Understood in this way, it remains only to match between these conditions, the social psychological components they represent, and the mechanisms associating them with their ethnic identification preferences.

The causal links between the characteristics discussed above, and ethnic identification, are understood in the literature to be reciprocal (Price 1969). Thus, immigrants' contacts with members of the receiving society and their proficiency in its language were found to sponsor their structural integration by improving their chances to find a job and also to shape the kind of job they get (Kalter 2006). Their ethnic identifications were also found to have consequences for their structural and cultural integration (see e.g. Esser 2009; Fuligni et al. 2005; Nekby and Rödin 2007; Nekby et al. 2010), and also to their decisions to stay in the immigration country temporarily or permanently (Leibold 2006).

This study specifies and explains only one direction of these relations namely, how the different characteristics shape the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents (Boekestijn 1988; Hämmig 2000; Nauck 2001; Schnell 1990). These causal paths will be theoretically grounded in the social identity perspectives discussed above.

The *cultural integration* of individuals with immigration background is predicted to be associated with their ethnic identification because of the important role cultural practices and skills play in marking the boundaries of ethnic groups, and individuals' membership in them (Sala et al. 2010; Weber and Winckelmann 1972: p.238-239; Wimmer 1996). As Nagel suggests, culture "dictates the appropriate and inappropriate content of a particular ethnicity and designates the language, religion, belief system, art, music, dress, traditions and lifeways that constitute an authentic ethnicity" (Nagel 1994: 162). Cohen (1974), maintains accordingly, that continual socialization as well as changing socio-cultural conditions, invite changes in individuals' ethnicity related orientations.

The cultural integration of individuals with an immigration background is first expected to determine their ethnic identification through its influence on the internalization of a new social category or role-identity. Increasingly using the culture of the receiving society, individuals with immigration background are predicted to demonstrate their increasing acceptance of the norms and practices of this group and their decreasing affiliation to their ethnic minority. The increasing exercise of the dominant culture is therefore predicted to decrease the individuals' certainty in its membership in the ethnic minority and increase its motivation to self-describe in terms of the dominant culture and identify with it (Fazio et al. 1977).

Among individuals who already internalized their social identification with different ethnic groups, their cultural integration is expected to determine the salience of their ethnic identity in their self-conceptualization. In line with the concept of emerging categorization described in self-categorization theory, perceived (normative) fit to either group, achieved through increasing cultural similarities to it, will determine individuals' subjective success probabilities to gain from their identification with it.

In the case of identity theory, salience is determined according to the ability of a certain role-identity to assist the individual in keeping a clear and distinct self-concept that is coherent and useful across changing contexts. Accordingly, as one's cultural practices no longer adhere to the expectations associated with its role as a member of one ethnic group, its success probabilities in gaining the expected utility from the role-identity associated with this role, decreases. Increasingly congruent with a new role, namely a member of the receiving society, these cultural practices are likely to increase one's success probabilities to gain a better self-concept by identification with it.

Social integration, or the emergence of inter-ethnic ties, is primarily understood to determine one's commitment to a certain role. The higher one's commitment to a role, the more salient is the role identity associated with this role in one's role-identity hierarchy. Based on this logic, a person with immigration background, who established friendships with individuals outside its ethnic minority, is predicted to feel less committed to the ethnic minority group. By renouncing this role-identity, it will not lose as much as for example someone whose friends are all co-ethnics. In the later case, the current, or status quo position of the individual, will be more attractive compared to the alternative investment.

Social integration is also relevant for the process of self-representation discussed above, and implies also the individuals' increasing motivation to invest. Its motivating role is associated with the part social ties play in sustaining one's social group membership, by bolstering those aspects of the social self-which one shares with other members of the social group (Esser 1999a). By repetition of their shared behaviors and beliefs in everyday contexts, in the company of their friends, individuals can sustain their certainty regarding who they are. In order to do so, they are however required to share a common social group with these friends. Changes in the ethnic composition of one's network will therefore motivate one to invest in identification with that group to which members of the network belong.

Structural integration is predicted to be associated with the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents through the material benefits membership in an ethnic group provides. This instrumentalist approach was discussed among others in Glazer and Moynihan's (1964) book "Beyond the Melting Pot". In principle, this approach maintains that ethnic categorization and

identification, strongly depends on the material (but also political in certain contexts) benefits it may yield. If membership in an ethnic group is highly valuable because of the potential material gains it provides its members with, individuals are more likely to identify with it. If however, membership in an ethnic group has no such advantages to offer, its attractiveness for individuals will decrease (Lal 1983).

The potential gains from group membership also depend on individuals' own human capital. The dependency of individuals holding only low human capital on the ethnic group will be higher, as their chances to succeed outside it are low. Individuals holding relatively high human capital will only maintain their ethnic minority identification for material purposes, if the ethnic group's resources are also comparatively beneficial. Ethnic group members who believe they can do better outside their ethnic group will seek to dissociate from it. Structural integration thus implies a decreasing sense of dependency of individuals with immigration background on their ethnic minority group. As their structural position improves, individuals with immigration background will be less dependent on their ethnic minority group membership for the production of their physical well-being.

The literature also suggests that lack of structural integration, may be perceived by immigrants and immigrant descendents as a sign for their disadvantaged position or discrimination (Hämmig 2000: p.168). In terms of the social identity theory, both the former and the latter arguments reflect another property associated with the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries. Individuals who are structurally better off, will perceive these boundaries to be more permeable than individuals who believe to be materially dependent on their ethnic minority.

The association between *the number of years passed since immigration,* and immigrants' ethnic identification preferences, is based on the 'fit' component and the idea of perceived similarities to one or the other ethnic group. As time passes and the immigrants become increasingly more acquainted with the ways of their new home, their foreign background becomes less dominant (Cornell and Hartmann 2007: p.77). Their success probabilities in maintaining their strong identification with their ethnic origin are therefore expected to decrease. Their increasing acquaintance with the ways of the receiving society and its dominant culture, and the adjustments forced upon them in their everyday lives, are also predicted to increase their affinity with this group.

From the perspective of the learning theory discussed earlier in this chapter, the number of years passed since immigration is associated with the exposure component. Therefore, the relations between immigrants' ethnic identification and the number of years passed since their immigration will strongly depend on the efficiency components described earlier. Correspondingly, it is plausible to predict that

the time the respondents spend in the receiving society will be less important once the possible consequences of these efficiency components will be accounted for.

The consequences of *generational status* are expected to be somewhat different. However, they too are based on the concepts of 'fit' and 'exposure'.[9] For first generation immigrants, the strong hold of their ethnic identification on their self-concept is primarily predicted to be associated with a process Schnell (1990) defines as 'problematization'. This process implies that within the context of the new society, everyday behaviors of immigrants become increasingly understood as symbols of their ethnic otherness. Their ethnic minority identification is therefore expected to be highly salient.

Among second generation immigrants, it is no longer clear whether the ethnic minority or the dominant group identification is more salient. On the one hand, one would expect ethnic retention also among second generation immigrants, due to their socialization into an already differentiated ethnic minority (Schnell 1990: p.54). This socialization is however predicted to be incomplete. The 'primordial' affiliation of second generation immigrants with their ethnic minority, to use Isaacs' (1989) terminology, is not as complete as that of their parents. The link between their place of birth and culture is broken. Although exposed at home to their heritage culture, religion, and history to variable levels, they are also exposed to the culture of the receiving society from a relatively young age.

On the other hand however, the partial socialization of members of the younger generations to the ethnic minority and its tradition would imply their dissociation from this group. Due to their early exposure to the receiving society, members of the second, and the 1.5 generations are predicted to be more socialized into the ways of the receiving society. This socialization is however also expected to be incomplete, because many of the members of the younger immigrant generations live on the margins of the receiving society, in segregated communities. They often continue to use their cultural heritage as their main normative orientation, and rely to a large extent on their ethnic networks.

Exposed to the heritage culture at home but to the dominant culture outside of it, members of the younger generations are thus often perceived to be living between two cultures, finding their place in neither one of them. This unique position of second and 1.5 generation immigrants can be easily

[9] Generational status is understood here, as in many other accounts to represent not only the country in which the immigrants were born but also the age in which they migrated (e.g. Hämmig 2000; Rumbaut 2004; Warner and Srole 1946).

explained using the propositions of the self-categorization theory. Specifically, it is the meta-contrast ratio that is predicted to be difficult for these individuals to define.

Notwithstanding the normative implications of affiliation with the second or 1.5 generations, its 'comparative fit' related implications are expected to imply different consequences. Their sound status in the receiving country based either on birth or domicile (long term residency) principles, provides immigrant descendents with a stronger comparative fit to the receiving society compared with their parents' generation. Born already outside their national origin, and raised in the environment of the receiving culture, their comparative fit to the ethnic minority is to the contrary weaker. This property is predicted to be reflected in their higher levels of German identification compared to those demonstrated by first generation immigrants, and their lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared to this reference group.

Perceived in this manner, generational status is expected to tap into the exposure component and the subjective success probabilities of the respondents to gain from social mobility. Exposed to the German culture and lifeways from a very young age, respondents affiliated with the younger generations will have higher subjective success probabilities to gain the utilities of social mobility. These will be supported by increasing the efficiency of the exposure through cultural or social as well as structural integration (Maliepaard et al. 2010).[10]

The respondents' *ethnic background* represents one of the structural predictors of ethnic identification discussed above. The influence of the respondents' ethnic origin, whether nationally, racially or religiously demarcated, on their ethnic identification preferences is predicted to be associated first with the emergence of value conflicts between the ethnic minority and the dominant majority. Value conflicts are associated with the concept of perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries. Their existence, is thus predicted to decrease the subjective success probabilities of individuals to gain from their investment in social mobility (Thomson and Crul 2007).

The ethnic background of immigrants and their descendents is additionally expected to represent a motivation for an investment in social mobility. Tapping to the propositions of social identity theory, this motivation derives from the negative social self-concept individuals may hold due to the

[10] Because I control in my models for some indicators of normative fit in the form of cultural and social integration, I expect the effect of generational status to reflect primarily this comparative fit argument and not the one based on the normative fit.

disadvantaged position of their ethnic group. The main reason for the emergence of feelings of disadvantage among immigrant ethnic minorities in the receiving society they arrive in or live in is the systematic association between their ethnic background and their structural position (Hechter 2001; Shinnar 2008).

This association has two main sources: first, as suggested by immigration theories, most immigrants arrive into the receiving country as low skilled workers expecting to fill in vacancies in low wage jobs. Second, even if they hold the needed skills to overcome the structural barrier, they must also be willing to overcome a significant social barrier, related with the strong intra-ethnic normative pressures to remain loyal to it. This barrier is especially strong in immigrant ethnic minorities arriving from less modernized countries, where kin groups are still immune to the destructive consequences of rationalization to them, and which still value their solidarity in its traditional meaning (Weber and Winckelmann 1972).

The final determinant of ethnic identification preferences among immigrants, and their descendents, I will refer to here, is the *context of reception*, and specifically the intergroup context. This aspect is typically represented by factors like discrimination, inter-ethnic contact, or the characteristics of the immigrant communities (Ashforth and Mael 1989; Mummendey et al. 1999; Piontkowski et al. 2000). Discrimination is understood here to indicate the perceived chances of immigrants and immigrant descendents to be accepted as equals by members of the receiving society. Inter-ethnic contact is associated with the extent of interaction between the members of the immigrant minority and the dominant majority that is necessary for the reduction of hostility between them (Harris 1995).

The level of segregation of the ethnic minority and its relative ability to exercise social control over its members, tap more into the idea of in-group sanctions. Discussing the consequences of these sanctions of the immigrant community, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) for example find that second generation immigrants are reluctant to become high achievers in high school. They explain this finding by reference to pressures placed upon these individuals to maintain the norms of the ethnic minority or otherwise be willing to be excluded from it. Gibson (1989), similarly reported Punjabi children of relatively poor backgrounds to show high performance in school due to pressures placed by their parents on them, to adhere to familial and ethnic values and avoid excessive Americanization (see also Byrd and Chavous 2009).

I associate all three factors with the perceived permeability of the boundaries between the respective social groups. This component, proposed by social identity theory, is understood to present persons with the ability to foresee their subjective success probabilities in gaining the expected utilities from their investment. Inter-ethnic contact, implies increasingly permeable intergroup boundaries,

encouraging individuals to engage in social mobility and dissociate from their own group (Skrobaneck 2009; Verkuyten and Reijerse 2008). Discrimination implies an intergroup context in which the social boundaries between the groups are reproduced. Under this condition, social mobility will be unattractive (Skrobaneck 2009). Social segregation, increase individuals' vulnerability to sanctions placed upon them from within their own in-group (Shinnar 2008). It is thus also predicted to hinder their probabilities to succeed in social mobility.

The model I propose seeks to integrate also the developmental approach to identity formation into the general subjective expected utility framework. Focusing on the emerging adulthood stage in individuals' development this approach is associated primarily with the immigrants' familial background, context, and structure, and their ethnic identification preferences. Specifically, I am interested in the consequences of one of the events associated with emerging adulthood, namely leaving the parents' home on their ethnic identification preferences.

Gans' (1997) claimed that so long as the children of immigrants reside within their parents' home and depend on them, the expectation that they shell renounce their ethnic minority culture is too demanding. Living in the parents' home, children of immigrants are exposed to the minority culture in their everyday practices and are sometimes also expected to maintain it, as part of their family obligations. An important example for this obligation is the children's role as language brokers for their parents. This role was found to imply increased identification with the ethnic minority (Weisskirch 2005).

Leaving the parents' home, the expectations placed upon the immigrants' children and their role as middlemen are no longer central for their everyday experiences. It is thus possible that they will take advantage of this change as an opportunity to decrease their ethnic minority identification. To the contrary, immigrant emerging adults are also predicted to increase their German identification levels. The main mechanism associating the move out of the parents' home with ethnic identification are predicted to be based on the decreasing costs it implies from a social mobility investment, and the increasing motivation it implies for it. Figure 4.2 below, presents a summary of the different propositions made thus far regarding the associations between the integration related characteristics of the immigrants and their descendents, and their ethnic identification preferences.
The following chapters will suggest empirical tests for these propositions, in four steps. First, I specify the associations between the different components of the model and the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels separately, in order to specify their preferences regarding each. Then, I move on to consider some potential interrelations between the model components in the form of interaction terms.

Figure 4.2 Summary of the theoretical propositions

Theory	Component	Mechanism	Empirical condition
Social identity theory	Positive social self-concept	Motivation	Country of origin, group self-esteem
	Perceived permeability of inter-group boundaries	Subjective success probabilities	Perceived inter-group context, value conflicts, in-group sanctions, structural integration
Self-categorization theory	Self-regulation (uncertainty reduction)	Motivation	Social, and cultural integration patterns
	'Fit' (comparative + normative)	Subjective success probabilities	Years passed since immigration, generational status, social and cultural integration patterns
	Accessibility	Motivation	Readiness of the ethnic identification compared to alternative social categories
Identity theory	Role specific self-esteem	Motivation	Country of origin, Group self-esteem
	Commitment	Costs	Network structure change
	Coherent meaning across interactions	Subjective success probabilities, and motivations	social and cultural integration patterns
Developmental theory	Life course contextual changes	Costs and motivations	Family relations change

In the next step, I look into the cumulative outcome of the preferences pointed out in the first empirical analysis, by predicting the respondents' odds hold one of the four ethnic identification types discussed in the two dimensional model of acculturation. Finally, I add the potential contribution of life course transitions into the model, referring to children of immigrants who are observed as they leave their parents home. Before presenting these empirical tests, I provide a brief account of the German context in which the data was collected and to which its consequences apply.

5. Immigration into Germany: Past, Present, and Future

Although formally accepting its nature as an immigration-receiving state only during the late 1990s, Germany has long been an attractive destination for immigrants. Already in 1910, a census conducted in Germany reported some 1.3 million individuals to be foreign residents, mostly from Austria and the Netherlands, and also from east European countries (Münz and Ulrich 2003). The presence of non-German residents in Germany was maintained between the two World Wars and came to a peak with over 7 million foreigners throughout the Second World War, many of which, forced laborers. Once the war was over, most of these foreigners went back to their countries of origin (Münz and Ulrich 2003; Thränhardt 1996).

The end of the war led however to the renewal of immigration into Germany. This immigration was composed of returning German citizens, and of labor immigrants invited to support the rapidly growing German economy. Germany was also increasingly serving as a safe haven for asylum seekers from different regions of the world. This chapter focuses on immigration into Germany after the Second World War. It describes the conditions leading to the varied immigration waves into Germany since the second half of the 1940s and the main characteristics of the individuals arriving in them.

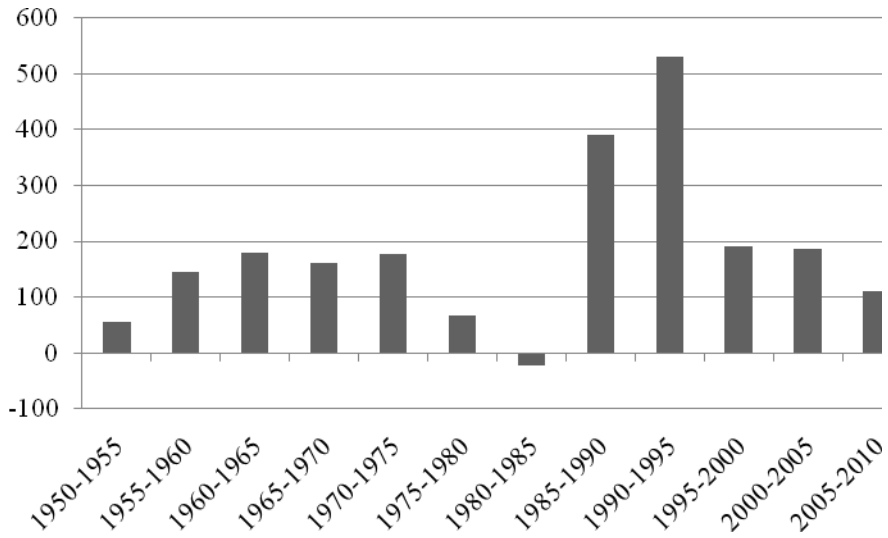
5.1 Immigration into Germany after the Second World War

Immigration into Germany after the Second World War can be divided into six waves (Münz and Ulrich 1997). The first wave which took place between 1945 and 1949 was mainly composed of ethnic German refugees and expellees who returned to Germany after the war was over. The second wave, occurring between 1949 and 1961, was primarily based on immigration from East Germany into the west. The third wave, between 1961 and 1973 was dominated by labor immigrants recruited by the West German government in light of its fast growing economy and shortage of workers. The next immigration wave occurred between the early 1970s and the late 1980s and was chiefly composed of the family members of those immigrants who arrived at the earlier wave as labor migrants.

The two final waves Münz and Ulrich (1997) delineate represent the large numbers of immigrants mostly from East Germany and the former communist bloc arriving in Germany during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Approximately at the same period, refugees and asylum seekers from the conflict regions in Yugoslavia, and Turkey were also arriving into Germany in relatively large numbers. In 1994, the number of foreigners residing in Germany was estimated at 7 million, half of which were already living in Germany for over 10 years, and about 2.1 million of them born in Germany (The German bureau of statistics).

The nature of immigration has changed during the last decades and the large waves of immigration have been replaced by a steady stream of newcomers. As demonstrated in figure 5.1 the number of immigrants in Germany peaked between 1990 and 1995, and has been decreasing since then.

Figure 5.1: Estimates of the net number of migrants, by five year intervals, 1950-2010 (in thousands)



(Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision and World Urbanization Prospects: The 2005 Revision, http://esa.un.org/unpp)

Nevertheless, Germany is still one of the most attractive immigrant destinations in Europe. While the net number of immigrants in Germany between 1995 and 2000 was estimated at 1,135 thousand people, it was estimated at only 215 thousand in France, and at 588 thousand in Italy in the same time period (Migration Policy Institute 2009).

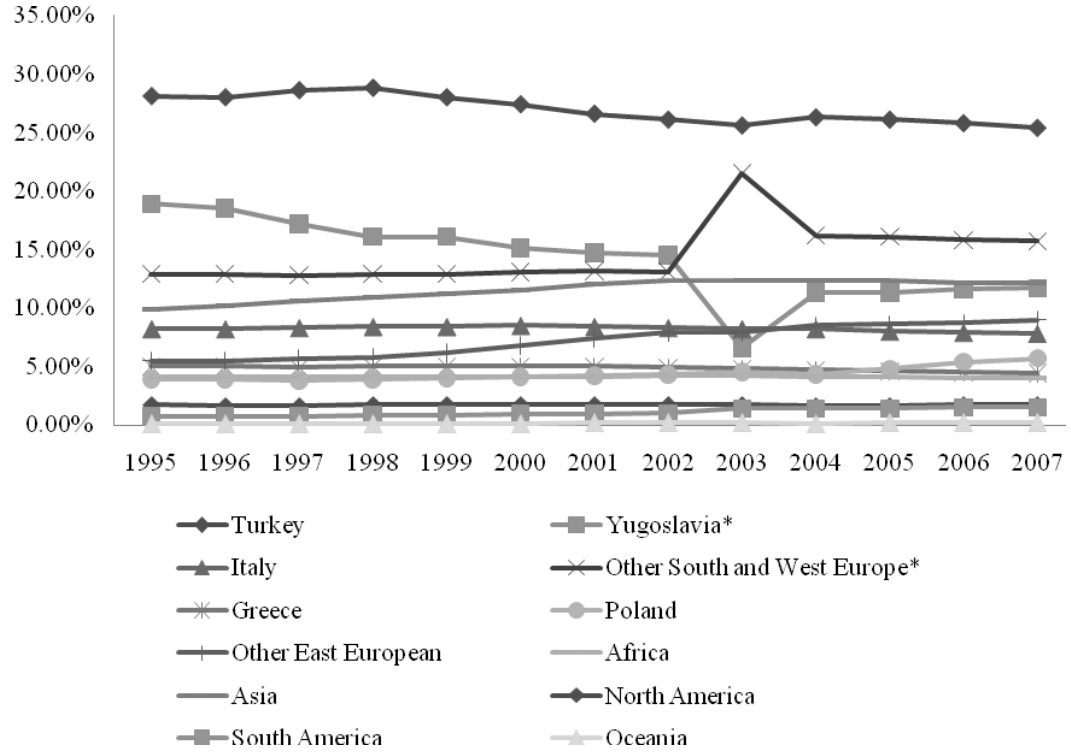
Due to the blood-based citizenship policy Germany maintained until 1999, immigrants represent only a share of the foreign population in Germany. Another significant share of this population is German born descendents of immigrants, among which only a small part have acquired the German citizenship. In 2008 the total share of foreigners within the German population was estimated at 8.8 per cent of the German population (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2009).

The micro census data collected by the German bureau of statistics convey that in the year 2007, 11 per cent of those persons with immigration background were German born descendents of at least one foreign born parent (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2009). A representative survey conducted in the year 2001 for the German ministry of labor and social affairs (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales*), conveyed that some 18 per cent of the Turkish foreign nationals, 14 per cent of

those from the former Yugoslavia, and some 22 and 20 per cent of the Italian or Greece nationals respectively, were German born (Venema and Grimm 2002).

As suggested above, Germany's immigrants arrive from a wide variety of regions in the world. A look at the composition of the German foreign population between 1995 and 2007, serves to demonstrate just how varied this population is (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: The composition of the German foreign population between 1995 and 2007 (in percents)



(Source: The German bureau of statistics)
*Changes occurring in Yugoslavia during the 1990 may lead to inaccuracies in the way different individuals refer to their country of origin. Also in the data for the years 2003-2007 the category 'Yugoslavia' which was given before was no longer in the data. This may lead to an under estimation of its size.
*The category "Other South and West Europe" is primarily composed of immigrants from Austria and the UK.

The largest group of foreigners residing in Germany is composed of Turkish immigrants and their descendents. The second largest group (until 2002) includes immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and their descendents. Another significant group in composed of individuals from West and South Europe whose presence increased since 2003. Within Europe, I separated Italian and Greece nationals into distinct groups because their relative share among the foreigners in Germany is fairly large with about eight and five per cent respectively. Of the East European immigrants, Polish nationals are a particularly large group with about 3 per cent in the early 1990s and over 5 per cent in later years. Immigrants from other countries of the former eastern bloc account for another 5 to 9 per cent. There

are also a significant number of foreigners from Asia, arriving predominantly from the Middle East and from the Far East (see appendix 1).

Although some changes can be found in the respective size of each of these groups, they remain, by and large stable. This trend shows that although some immigrants leave, and others naturalize and are thus no longer considered foreigners, many individuals prefer to remain in Germany, and maintain their foreign status. More concretely, most of the first generation immigrants to Germany typically prefer to hold on to their foreign nationality while their descendents show some inclination towards naturalization (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2009).

The remaining of this chapter reviews the characteristics of the main immigrant minorities residing in Germany, regardless of their citizenship status. I additionally discuss the legal as well as social context these individuals encountered in their immigration and afterwards.

Ethnic German immigration (*Volksdeutscher*)

As suggested earlier, not all of Germany's immigrants or immigrant descendents are foreign nationals. Some of Germany's foreign population is actually German by nationality. The majority of them are '*Volksdeutscher'*, or, individuals who belong to the German people and were members of German minorities in different regions of East and middle Europe. Legally, individuals who manage to immigrate into Germany as '*Volksdeutscher*' enjoy a privileged status compared to that of other non-German immigrants. They automatically acquire a German citizenship, and all the rights it entails, and they are also entitled to a German language course, and financial aid.

Two of the waves discussed above were predominantly composed of these 'ethnic German' immigrants. The first wave that took place during the 1940s and 1950s included a large share of members of ethnic German minorities who were expelled from their respective homes in Eastern Europe (*Ostdeutsche; Vertrieben; Umsiedler*). They arrived primarily from Poland, Romania, Hungary and other regions that were not part of Germany before the Nazi regime, and were no longer German territory at the end of the Second World War. During the 1950s the share of ethnic German immigrants within the German population was estimated at 4 per cent (Münz and Ulrich 2003). The second immigration wave of ethnic Germans took place much later towards the end of the 1980s and early 1990s as the communist bloc collapsed. These individuals have received the name '*Spätaussiedler'* meaning late ethnic German immigrants.

The 'early *Aussiedler'* were warmly welcomed by the Germans who were in need of laborers and of national reassurance after the Second World War. These immigrants were considered to be returning 'home', demonstrating their support for the Western German values over those of the East, and their

strong identification as Germans. The *Spätaussiedler,* who arrived during the 1990s were accepted with some skepticism. Their immigration was primarily associated with their economic interests, and less with their ideological beliefs or aspirations (Münz and Ulrich 2003).

This change in the attitudes of Germans towards the *Aussiedler* is also reflected in Germany's changing policy towards them. Already in 1990, the entry of immigrants as *Aussiedler* was limited to those individuals who had family members in Germany or otherwise to those who were discriminated against due to their German origin (Brukhauser et al. 1997). Since 1993, only individuals from the former Soviet Union states applying for an *Aussiedler* status are considered for entry. Their application is further dependent on their German language skills tested prior to their immigration. It is important to note that while only a selected number of individuals applying for the *Aussiedler* status successfully acquire it, those who are unsuccessful acquiring it may still immigrate into Germany as seasonal workers or under other classifications.

Labor immigration

As noted earlier in this chapter, foreign laborers were part of the German labor market as early as 1910. More significant for the current study are however the labor migrants who arrived into Germany during the 1950s and 1960s as a consequence of the large scale economic growth it experienced at that time (Schrader et al. 1976). The recruitment of these immigrants has laid the foundation for Germany's growing foreign population (Borkert and Bosswick 2007). The first recruits were carried out through bilateral agreements between Germany and south European states, primarily Italy and Spain. Later recruits were realized through similar agreements signed between Germany and some Mediterranean states like Turkey, Portugal, Morocco and Tunisia, as well as with Yugoslavia (Schrader et al. 1976; Sen and Goldberg 1994; Thränhardt 1996).

Originally, the labor immigrants recruited were expected to be temporary workers, yet many of them remained in Germany for longer periods, or permanently (Münz and Ulrich 1997). In 1973 foreign nationals already comprised 7 per cent of the German population. At that same year, due to changes in the economy, associated primarily with the world oil crisis, the German recruitment policy was dramatically changed (Münz and Ulrich 2003). First, higher taxes were placed on the employers and second, the recruitment of new laborers abroad was stopped completely.

Although the recruitment of labor immigrants was put to a stop, a second wave of immigration associated with this labor migration took place during the mid 1970s. This immigration was primarily composed of the wives and children of those labor migrants who were allowed to stay in Germany permanently. This new immigration had several consequences both for the German economy and for the immigrant communities themselves. First, the large number of women and children has increased

the relative number of individuals among the immigrants, and within Germany as a whole who were not employed. Second, the immigrant communities were expanding and developing to support the various needs of their growing number of members.

The largest labor immigrant community in contemporary Germany is the Turkish one composing some 25 per cent of Germany's foreign population. Foreigners from the former Yugoslavian block comprise the second largest immigrant community in Germany with about 9 to 10 per cent. About 7 per cent of the foreign population of Germany is composed of Italian nationals. Immigrants from Asia (primarily the Middle East) represent another large group with about 12 per cent of Germany's foreign population.

Finally, since the late 1980s, growing numbers of Polish and other East European labor migrants have entered Germany, among others, to support the economic needs arising from the German reunification. Like the earlier labor migrants, these individuals are also primarily employed as seasonal or otherwise temporary workers. However, these individuals are also increasingly finding ways to extend their stay. In fact, recent studies confirm that the Polish population in Germany is currently the fastest growing immigrant community (Gostomski 2008). A smaller group of labor migrants is also being recruited since the beginning of the new century to occupy positions in the developing technological industries in Germany. These individuals arrive primarily from India and some states of the FSU (Münz and Ulrich 2003).

Asylum seekers and refugees

The German constitution obligates Germany to grant asylum to anyone who is persecuted in their country of origin for political reasons. Individuals who apply to this unfortunate status are legally entitled to the same economic rights as Germans, and to a German language course. Its membership in the Geneva Convention also obligates Germany to grant entry and protection to individuals fleeing war or social difficulties. However these individuals are only allowed to work in jobs unwanted by Germans or individuals from EU member states and do not enjoy the other privileges described above (Brukhauser et al. 1997).

The most significant number of refugees and asylum seekers has entered Germany during the late 1980s and the 1990s. These were primarily individuals arriving in light of the ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia as well as other parts of Eastern Europe. Many individuals also arrived from Turkey, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Additionally, there was and is still an ongoing stream of refugees and asylum seekers arriving from different African regions (Klink and Wagner 1999). The increasing numbers of individuals seeking rescue in Germany resulted in placing new legislative barriers in front of them (Thränhardt 1996). First, individuals who entered Germany through a third EU member state

were sent back to this state. Second, a new requirement was placed upon those seeking to enter Germany that required them to prove that they were, in fact, persecuted (Münz and Ulrich 2003).[11]

5.2 Immigration policies, naturalization and integration

Immigration policies and public attitudes towards immigrants play a central role determining the opportunities of immigrants to access and participate in the receiving society. They also play an important role in shaping the perceived and actual social distance between the members of the receiving society, and the immigrant minorities. Drawing the boundaries between in-group and out-group, naturalization is additionally predicted to be meaningful for the emotional integration and the attachment of immigrants and their descendents to the receiving society (Bauböck 2003; Cornell and Hartmann 2007). In the following, I first describe Germany's legal immigration and naturalization policy, and then attend to some findings regarding the way immigrants, and particularly those who are not considered ethnic Germans, are perceived by the Germans.

Legal status:

Although most of Germany's labor immigrants are not automatically entitled to a German citizenship, many of them are eligible for a temporal or permanent residency status (*Aufenthaltserlaubnis; Aufenthaltsberechtigung*) granting them almost the same rights citizens have. According to the immigration report published by the German bureau for immigration and refugees, 65 per cent of all foreign nationals in Germany have a permanent residency permit (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2009).

The temporal residency status is given to individuals who wish to remain in Germany for a longer time than a standard visa allows. It can be extended yearly for up to five years, after which it can be replaced with a permanent residency permit. Additionally, in order to permanently extend the temporal permit, the individual needs to hold a valid working permit (if working). Unemployed individuals who are not lawfully eligible for unemployment benefits, can only apply for a permanent residency permit if they support themselves without taking advantage of state welfare programs (Ausländergesetz 1990; §15, §24). The acceptance of a permanent residency status is also conditioned on the individual's German language skills, and its ability to maintain a home (rented or self-owned). Finally, individuals who are at risk for expulsion cannot apply for a permanent residency permit.

[11] The first of these two constraints was established at the EU level and applies to all EU member states.

A permanent residency permit can also be allocated through direct application (rather than through extending the temporal one). The conditions for this type of status are similar to those listed above: The applicant should have legally resided in Germany for a period of eight years; it should also have contributed to the state social system for a period of at least 60 months; and, it should not have committed any crimes punishable with over six months of imprisonment. [12]

In the labor market, labor migrants are entitled to work in any position in which their skills are required. Under these conditions the labor migrants can receive a working permit which also secures them in most cases legal residency, either temporal or permanent. The law also allows the labor migrants access to unemployment benefits for a period of 6 to 12 months.

Immigrants to Germany can also become German citizens if they wish. The two main differences between the permanent residency status and the citizenship status are that the former status does not allow its carriers to vote in the general elections or be elected, and also prevent them from working in the public sector. A citizenship status also relieves one from certain travelling limitations placed upon permanent residents.

Naturalization in Germany was a relatively complex process for non-ethnic German immigrants for many years. This situation has changed dramatically since the late 1980s and more pronouncedly since the beginning of the 1990s. During 1993, an amendment in the foreigners' law (*Ausländergesetz*) was passed which eased the requirements for naturalization. The new law conditioned naturalization of non-ethnic Germans on 8 years of residency for individuals between the age of 16 and 23, and 15 years of residency for older individuals. The fees of the process were also reduced. Since 1999, stay duration of 8 years is sufficient for all naturalization applicants. In addition, applicants need to hold a residence permit (temporal or permanent), to be able to prove they are not a risk for the German democracy, to be able to financially sustain their family without using state social support systems, and to have a clean criminal record (Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz 2009 §10). Another important requirement associated with naturalization in Germany is the giving up of one's former citizenship in the process. This requirement does not apply to EU nationals.[13]

[12] For individuals whose life partners are German citizen, or who were themselves German citizens, the process is shortened to five years of legal residency (Ausländergesetz 1990 §27)

[13] For a short period during the 1990s the Turkish government tried to bypass the German insistence on holding a single nationality by providing its former nationals who became German with a 'pink card' through which they

Although the German citizenship status became more accessible during the last two decades, only a small majority of the foreign nationals (53 per cent) in Germany hold a German citizenship (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2007). Only 14 per cent of these individuals are foreigners who did not arrive as ethnic German immigrants. 2.6 per cent of them are descendents of immigrants. The micro census data additionally suggests that 18 per cent of the German nationals with immigration background acquired the German citizenship at birth under the new German citizenship law from 1999 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2009).

Public attitudes

While formal regulations and laws defining the status and rights of immigrants are extremely important in shaping the context of reception in immigration receiving countries, they are not its sole determinant. Another determinant of the context of reception is the informal attitudes of members of the society towards the immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.44-69). Such attitudes are studied in Germany already since the 1970s, allowing a relatively deep understanding of the realities immigrants and their descendents face in their everyday encounters with Germans. Since early on, studies demonstrated that Turkish immigrants are the most distant group of all labor immigrant communities in Germany (Esser 1990; Schrader et al. 1976; Sen and Goldberg 1994). Using the ALBUS data from 1996, Wasmer and Koch (2003) also demonstrated that Germans tend more often to deny equal rights from individuals who entered Germany as asylum seekers, or from Turkish nationals. The tendency to deny equal rights from Italian nationals is much lower. These discriminatory attitudes are found particularly among low educated and older German respondents.

Different levels of discrimination were also identified in Klink and Wagner's (1999) field studies. Specifically, the authors report that at least in two different contexts, Turkish individuals were more discriminated than East European individuals who however were still mistreated in comparison to German individuals.

Discrimination is not the only indicator for the social context in which the integration of immigrants in Germany occurs. One other important aspect of this context is the integration expectations held by members of the dominant culture. Piontkowsky and colleagues (2000) find that most of their German respondents expect the immigrants to integrate. They are thus expected to adapt to the German society,

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could still be considered Turkish nationals. This procedure was abolished due to German pressure. Some *Aussiedler* immigrants also manage to keep their former citizenship while holding the German one, by re applying for citizenship in their country of origin.

however not necessarily giving up on their own cultural heritage. From the perspective of the immigrants themselves, Piontkowsky and colleagues report that while the majority of nationals of the former Yugoslavia prefer integration to other acculturation strategies, among Turkish nationals separation is more often selected (Piontkowski et al. 2000).

To sum up, in light of the large number of foreigners living in Germany, Germany's definition as an immigration receiving state can no longer be questioned. Accordingly, the issue of immigration is constantly debated in the political as well as the public sphere. As the third immigrant generation increasingly enters the labor market, the ongoing structural disadvantages of immigrants are also becoming more and more apparent. This is particularly true for the descendents of the labor migrants, and among them, members of the Turkish ethnic group. As in the case of many other immigrant receiving countries, Germany too is facing the challenges of integration and must come to terms with its consequences. This is also the framework within which this dissertation should be understood.

6. Modeling German and Ethnic Minority Identifications – an Empirical Test

The main aim of this chapter is to derive testable hypotheses from the theoretical model suggested above and investigate them empirically in the German context. In order to do this, I use subsamples pooled from the data collected within the German socioeconomic panel study. This data set allows me to attend to both the respondents' German and their ethnic minority identification separately. The chapter opens with an overview of the data set and its advantages and disadvantages for this purpose. I than proceed to describe the indicators used to measure the theoretical constructs proposed above, and use them to derive specific testable hypotheses. In order to test these hypotheses I first provide a descriptive overview of their relationships and then move on to estimate their effects using OLS hybrid models. The findings from the models are described towards the end of this chapter followed by a summary.

6.1 Data and sample selection

The theoretical model I wish to test in the course of this dissertation suggests a wide variety of concepts requiring careful specification and operationalization. In order to test these concepts, I need a data set which includes a large variety of individual characteristics. The data set must also include information on adult immigrants from both the first and second generation, and from different ethnic origins. Because I seek to gain knowledge on changes occurring in individuals' ethnic identifications over time, reflecting the dynamic nature of ethnic identification, the data must also be longitudinal.

One available data set applying to most of these requirements is the German socioeconomic panel (see e.g. Haug 2005). The German socioeconomic panel was not designed to investigate immigrants' integration. Its orientations are more general in nature and it includes mostly information about more structural and economic indicators characterizing contemporary German society. Never the less, the survey includes several useful indicators for integration research which were used in many studies in the field (Diehl and Blohm 2003; 2008; Diehl and Schnell 2006; Esser 2008; Haug 2003; Reinecke et al. 2005).

6.2 The German socioeconomic panel

The German socioeconomic panel (GSOEP) is conducted by the DIW institute in Berlin, Germany since 1984 (Wagner et al. 2007). It is composed of a representative sample of the German population, and conducted yearly among the same individuals. In order to overcome problems of panel attrition, new individuals are sampled periodically in so called 'refreshment samples'. The first sample drawn

for the GSOEP, sample A, composed of individuals living in households in which the head of house did not belong to the main immigrant groups residing in West Germany namely the Turkish, Italian, Greece, Ex-Yugoslavian, and Spanish minorities. Sample B, drawn in the same year (1984) was composed of individuals living in households where the head of house was a member of one of these immigrant minorities. This labor migrants (*Gastarbeiter*) sample oversampled the labor migrant population in Germany to guarantee a sufficient number of respondents for statistical analysis. After the German reunification in 1990, sample C was drawn, adding the citizens of the former German Democratic Republic into the general sample.

A second immigrant sample was drawn between 1994 and 1995 (as part of sample D), that included individuals from households where at least one of the household members moved into West Germany from abroad, after 1984. Two additional samples were drawn in 1998 and 2000 (samples E and F). Both samples also included immigrants in their population schemes, however only in the later, households which included foreign individuals, were sampled separately. Finally, in 2002, another sample was drawn to represent households with relatively higher incomes (at least 3835 Euro in the first wave and 4500 Euro from the second wave onwards). The focus of this dissertation is directed to foreign nationals residing in Germany who do not hold a German citizenship. These individuals were sampled primarily in samples B and D of the GSOEP. Some of them may have entered the GSOEP in the immigrant refreshment sample drawn in 2000 (sample F).

The sampling procedure in the GSOEP is a multi staged stratified one. In West Germany, households are randomly selected within randomly preselected primary units namely, regions. Foreigners were sampled according to separate lists, acquired from the registration lists of the municipalities that also indicate their respective country of origin. In East Germany, a direct sample from the 'residents data base' was used.

In general, the GSOEP is particularly rich in information on immigrants arriving from the 'traditional' labor migrant countries. It also includes immigrants arriving from east European and other regions, particularly since 1994 during which sample D was drawn (Brukhauser et al. 1997). As demonstrated in table 6.1 below, about 12.5 per cent of the GSOEP participants immigrated into Germany after 1948. Among them, some 24 percent arrived from Turkey, making the largest immigrant group in the sample. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union, ex-Yugoslavia, and Italy are the next largest groups within it.

Immigrants from Poland compose a smaller group with some 8 per cent of the total sample. One important disadvantage of the GSOEP is that because the majority of its immigrant participants were sampled in 1984, it represents primarily long-time foreign residents of Germany and not new arrivals.

This limitation also implies that new trends in immigration into Germany are not fully accountable in the immigrant population of the GSOEP.

Table 6.1: Respondents distribution according to country of origin*

Country of origin	Non-immigrants	Immigrants
Germany	16.29%	--------
Turkey	0.70%	24.01%
Ex Yugoslavian countries	0.32%	12.80%
Greece	0.28%	7.40%
Italy	0.35%	10.27%
Spain and Portugal	0.19%	6.13%
West Europe (and Israel)	0.11%	4.23%
Poland	0.10%	8.11%
Czech Republic and Slovakia	0.02%	1.34%
Former Eastern Block	0.18%	18.70%
Asia	0.03%	1.68%
Pacific	0.02%	1.01%
Africa	0.01%	1.17%
South and middle America	0.02%	0.87%
North America	0.02%	0.92%
Unknown	81.33%	1.29 %
Per cent of sample:	80.30%	12.36%

(source: GSOEP 1984-2007)

* For the German born respondents, country of origin of the mother is used.

Although the GSOEP does not inquire directly about the respondents' ethnic background, it does ask them to report their country of birth, and their nationality. In my own sample selection, I am using the former to determine the respondents' ethnic background.[14] One complication associated with this strategy is that respondents affiliated with the second generation remain unidentified, as their country of birth is Germany. To identify the German born individuals who are children of immigrants, I referred to the country of birth of the parents. This strategy is also not straight forward to the extent that information about the parents' country of birth is only accessible for respondents whose parents are themselves participants of the GSOEP.

As second generation immigrants, I regard only those respondents who are German born and whose parents are both foreign born. Among these respondents, I used the mothers' country of birth to determine their ethnic background. The mother's country of birth was selected as the default because

[14] I decided to use this item and not the respondents' nationality because the respondents' nationality does not remain stable over the different sample waves.

in general, the GSOEP includes more often information about the mothers (18.8% participated) of the German born respondents than about their fathers (16.6% participated).[15]

As demonstrated in table 6.2 below, respondents affiliated with the second generation are mostly children of immigrants who migrated from Turkey (32.42%). Descendents of Italian immigrants make up the second largest group among the German born descendents of immigrants in Germany (14.16%).

Table 6.2: Ethnic background of the respondents by generational status

	Generational affiliation		
	First generation	1.5 generation	Second generation
Turkey	22.73%	31.69%	32.42%
Ex Yugoslavia	13.73%	9.07%	13.91%
Greece	7.61%	7.65%	10.62%
Italy	10.63%	8.63%	14.16%
Spain/Portugal	6.20%	6.56%	7.76%
West Europe & Israel	4.63%	1.75%	1.99%
Poland	7.71%	9.62%	5.78%
Czech republic & Slovakia	1.53%	0.55%	0.43%
Former East bloc	18.84%	19.45%	10.00%
Asia	1.71%	1.09%	1.12%
Pacific	1.16%	0.33%	0.43%
Africa	1.24%	0.77%	0.19%
South & central America	0.84%	0.77%	0.43%
North America	0.84%	1.09%	0.56%
Other	0.52%	0.98%	0.19%
Total of sample	70.26%	10.78%	18.96%

(source: GSOEP 1984-2007)

13.91 per cent of them are children of immigrants from the former Yugoslavian republic, and 10.62 per cent of them were born to parents arriving from Greece. 10 per cent of the second generation immigrants are descendents of immigrants from Eastern Europe. Table 6.2, also differentiates respondents affiliated with the 1.5 generation from other immigrants, based on their young age of immigration. These individuals immigrated into Germany at the age of 6 to 12 (Rumbaut 2004).[16]

[15] The number of respondents whose parents were not born in the same country in my sample is negligible.
[16] The literature suggests more than one age range for the specification of the 1.5 generation. I have selected the one acknowledged by Rumbaut (2004) as the 'classic' one. I have also made some robustness tests with a wider definition (6-16) and in most cases, the findings remain similar. One difference is that given that in the wider range there are more cases in the 1.5 generation affiliation with the 1.5 generation becomes significant at the 0.05 level predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels.

Immigrants, who arrived at the age of 5 or younger, were combined with the second generation because psychologically, they are considered to be more similar to this group than to the former one (Berry 1997).

Even though efforts were made to increase participation through refreshment samples as well as the use of panel maintenance methods and incentives, the number of immigrants included in the German socioeconomic panel has decreased. This 'panel mortality', is one of the problems encountered in any longitudinal study. According to the GSOEP team, the attrition rates of the members of sample B, were predicted to be higher than those of other samples due to increased return of these respondents to their respective countries of origin (Frick and Haisken-DeNew 2005). Erlinghagen et al. (2009) find accordingly that between 1984 and 2005 the number of foreign born respondents who left the GSOEP because of immigration is almost three times as high as that of Germans.

Due to the possible association of this particular reason for panel attrition with immigrants' ethnic identification preferences, I have looked into the proportion of respondents in my final sample, who reported to leave it due to their move away from Germany. Although this reason for dropping out is the most frequent one reported by the respondents in my sample, it represents a little less than 2 per cent of them. Most of these individuals are first generation immigrants.

6.3 The selection of indicators

The theoretical model presented above suggested viewing an investment in social mobility as implying two possible outcomes: the first is an increase in German identification, and the second is a decrease in ethnic minority identification. These two forms of social mobility are thus understood as the main dependent variables I seek to explain.

Ethnic identifications are inquired in various ways in literature, focusing on their formation, change and dimensionality (Phinney 1990). One common operationalization of it is in the form of self-labels. This understanding of ethnic identification represents the way individuals label themselves with regard to their ethnic group membership (Ono 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The GSOEP does not include an item measuring the respondents' self-labels. It inquires about the respondents' ethnic identifications in a different way. Specifically, respondents are asked two questions: for their German identification levels the respondents are asked "to what extent do you feel German". For their ethnic minority identification, they are asked "to what extent to you feel connected with your country of origin". Both indicators are measured on a one to five scale where (1) represents the strongest level of identification and (5) the weakest. In order to maintain clarity in the description of the findings, values were recoded in the opposite order.

Leaving aside the evaluative dimension of social identity, these items account for its two other dimensions as distinguished within the social identity perspective, namely, the cognitive and emotional (affective) dimensions (Ellemers et al. 1999). Unfortunately, they do not allow a clear separation between these two dimensions. However, studies conducted in social psychology demonstrated that in as much as individuals choose their social group memberships, these two dimensions are expected to be closely related and even indistinguishable (Dimmock et al. 2005). This is primarily because individuals are likely to show affective solidarity with a group they want to belong to. Similarly, individuals are highly unlikely to cognitively identify with a group which they do not feel affectively committed to.

Investment in social mobility, whether through one's increasing German identification or its decreasing identification with the ethnic minority is associated in my model with two main motivations: individuals' need to derive a positive self-concept out of their social group membership, and their need to maintain a coherent and consistent self-concept, which also fits their behavior and the expectations of others regarding it.

These needs are predicted to be associated with two main factors: the first one is the perceived social and structural status of the ethnic group. Here, it is assumed that members of ethnic minorities that are in a disadvantaged position within the German society will be more motivated to engage in social mobility. These individuals are predicted first, to be motivated to increase their identification with the German group. Perceiving themselves as members of this advantaged majority, they will be able to derive a better self-concept for themselves. Second, they are also predicted to dissociate from their ethnic minority. By decreasing their emotional and cognitive attachment to this disadvantaged group, they will overcome its negative consequences to their social self-concept.

In social psychology, the most useful way to inquire about these different aspects of the structural position of one's social group is to create such status differences in the laboratory. In the case of ethnic groups, clear contextual characteristics were also adopted to determine status differences. For example, studying ethnic identification management strategies among East German respondents, Mummendey and her colleagues (1999) use their position within the German reunification context to determine their disadvantaged status. Cornell and Hartmann (2007), site two studies conducted in New-York city which similarly use the contextually defined disadvantaged position of respondents from certain ethnic minorities as an indirect measure for their ethnic groups' structural position. These studies find that some West Indians do not identify as Blacks, avoiding in this way, the negative stereotypes associated with this identity (Kasinitz 1992; Waters 1999; Sited in: Cornell and Hartmann 2007).

In this dissertation I also rely on the contextual approach to measure the perceived structural status of the immigrant minorities I study. I distinguish five main immigrant groups: Turks, south Europeans (foreign nationals from Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal) ex-Yugoslavians, east Europeans, and west Europeans which will serve as my reference category.[17] Arriving primarily as labor immigrants, respondents from the first three immigrant minorities distinguished, are members of minorities who are structurally disadvantaged in terms of their educational attainment, and their labor market participation (Bildungsberichterstattung 2008; OECD.stat 2010). The association between their ethnic background and their structural position is thus predicted to decrease the value of their ethnic background for their social self-concept. Below I provide a more detailed discussion of the contextual characteristics of the members of these and the other two immigrant minorities.

The Turkish ethnic minority is the most disadvantaged one among the five groups specified above. Given their disadvantaged position, Turkish respondents are expected to demonstrate the highest motivations to engage in social mobility. I therefore predict that members of the Turkish minority will demonstrate lower levels of identification with their ethnic minority and higher levels of German identification. However, the situation of the Turkish nationals in Germany is more complex and the prediction of their ethnic identification preferences is also challenging.

Arriving primarily from underdeveloped and moderately modernized regions of Turkey the Turkish ethnic group is characterized by strong social and communal ties (Pfister 2000; Schoeneberg 1985; Sen and Goldberg 1994) which are in turn associated with ethnic cohesion (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). Based on the theoretical model presented above, the strong role of the community in the lives of Turkish nationals living in Germany may increase the role of in-group sanctions in their investment calculations, thus decreasing the perceived permeability of the boundaries between the ethnic minority and the German majority. The strong ties of Turkish respondents to the ethnic minority will also imply higher commitment to it, and thus higher perceived costs from an investment.

Another important characteristic of the Turkish ethnic minority is the different religion and culture practiced by its members, and their greater perceived social distance from Germans. The clear differences between the German and the Turkish culture are predicted to increase the value differences

[17] Germany is additionally hosting foreigners from many other countries. Their numbers in the GSOEP are however very small. I therefore also include in my models an 'other' category, which is above all used to separate these individuals from the west European reference category.

between the two groups, and thus also decrease the perceived permeability of the boundaries between them.[18]

Respondents, who belong to the Kurd minority in Turkey and reported Turkey as their country of birth, are also included within the Turkish group. The inclusion of the Kurds in the same category as Turkish results in an ethnic background category that may be rejected by some of its own members. Particularly Kurds who arrived in Germany to escape the persecution they were subjected to in Turkey may demonstrate lower identification with their country of origin compared with other Turkish nationals. Comparing between Turkish and Kurd individuals' general sympathy towards compatriots, and their perceived group cohesion Schnell (1990) found however no meaningful differences between them.

A second group included in my model is composed of respondents with south European ethnic background. Similarly to the former group, this group is also composed primarily of labor migrants and their families. It includes individuals from Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal. Although there are surely differences between the different subgroups within this group, they also share significant similarities, allowing me to refer to them as one group. Like the Turkish nationals residing in Germany, foreign nationals from the south European states also represent ethnic minorities that are structurally disadvantaged compared with Germans (Seibert and Solga 2005; Von-Below 2006; Worbs 2003). This disadvantage is related with their arrival in Germany as unskilled labor immigrants. Unlike the Turkish nationals, south European nationals do not strongly differ from Germans in their religious and cultural practices. This is not to say that there are no cultural differences between them, however the consequences of these differences are expected to be weaker. Thus, these individuals are not expected to experience lower success probabilities from their social mobility investment.

There is nevertheless a different factor which might complicate the evaluation of the social mobility investment prospects of foreign nationals from southern Europe, namely their EU citizenship status. The Southern Europeans' EU citizenship implies that they share membership with Germans in a common super-ordinate category (Brewer 1999). This shared membership is predicted to decrease the

[18] One needs to emphasis here that although this description implies that there are some 'cultural' cores within the German or Turkish society, this is not to ignore the diversity within these societies and others. My understanding of cultural differences relies on Wimmers' (1996) concept of 'cultural compromise'. The cultural compromise accepted within the German society, is here understood to differ from the one accepted within the Turkish society.

expected utilities of an investment in social mobility, which is aimed towards the same goal, namely membership in the dominant majority.

Foreign nationals from the former Yugoslavia and the new states emerging from it, compose a third ethnic group included in my model. Like the Turks, these individuals do not have a European citizenship and are thus deprived from the rights enjoyed by south European nationals. Like the Southern Europeans, their cultural distinctiveness from Germans, is not very strong. Members of this group are therefore predicted to be the most motivated to invest in social mobility. On the one hand, they are not expected to endure too high costs in terms of value conflicts. On the other, they have a lot to gain by perceiving themselves as members of the dominant group.

Like the Turks, the Yugoslavian nationals must also be understood as members of different ethnic groups, grouped together for statistical reasons. Looking into the potential differences between the different ethnic minority members within this group, Schnell (1990) reports that most individuals who were formerly Yugoslavian nationals do not differ in their attachment to their country of origin (Schnell 1990). One exception in his data is the Albanian group. Referring to these respondents' closeness to their country of origin, the item measuring the respondents' ethnic identification is expected in the case of the ex-Yugoslavian group to be less problematic than among the Turkish respondents. This country of origin may represent for the respondents either Yugoslavia or the new country established after the war, and does not imply their identification with a hostile persecutor.

Finally, one must also refer to the immigrants arriving from Eastern Europe whose arrival too, is associated with rather specific social and structural challenges. Members of this group are not as religiously distinct from the German dominant culture compared with Turkish nationals. Their arrival is also associated with their acceptance of the capitalistic and individualistic values of the west, and their willingness to internalize them. Like Turks and ex-Yugoslavian nationals, these individuals are however not EU citizens.[19]

East European immigrants into Germany, whose arrival is associated with the large immigration wave of the late 1980s and early 1990s, are largely perceived in a negative light, as taking advantage of the permissive German policy towards *Aussiedler* (Dollase 2005). Dissociating from this group and joining the German one may assist members of this group to dissociate from the stigma attached to it.

[19] Since 2004, Poland is a member of the EU, however the data used here was collected prior to that.

The situation of east European nationals is therefore predicted to be similar to that of the ex-Yugoslavian group members. On the one hand, they have good reasons to invest in increasing their German identification levels. On the other, they also have no particular reason to hold on to their ethnic minority identification. The hypotheses regarding the association between the respondents' ethnic background and their German and ethnic minority identification levels are the following:

1a: Turkish respondents will not show higher levels of German identification compared with those demonstrated by west European respondents.

1b: South European respondents will not show higher levels of German identification, compared with those demonstrated by west European respondents.

1c: Ex-Yugoslavian respondents will show higher levels of German identification compared with those demonstrated by west European respondents.

1d: East European respondents will show higher German identification levels compared with those demonstrated by west European respondents.

1e: Turkish respondents will not show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with those demonstrated by west European respondents

1f: Respondents with ex-Yugoslavian and east European ethnic backgrounds will show lower levels of ethnic minority identification, compared with those demonstrated by west European respondents.

The second motivational determinant of an investment in social mobility, either increasing one's German identification levels or decreasing one's ethnic minority identification levels derives from individuals' psychological need to maintain a coherent and consistent self-concept. As suggested earlier, this motivation is predicted to be associated with the immigrants' cultural and social integration. It has to do with the need to make the ethnic self-concept one holds, match the adapted behaviors and attitudes these two dimensions of integration imply.

Acculturation studies, suggest a wide variety of indictors measuring the respondents' cultural and social integration. While some of these indicators measure the respondents' cultural preferences, other focus more on cultural practices, or skills. Another distinction can be made between indicators that have a one dimensional structure ranging from the dominant to the minority culture and those which aim to get a two dimensional view about the respondents' social and cultural integration. The different indicators suggest both theoretical and analytical advantages and disadvantages discussed among others, in the work of Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001).

The GSOEP includes a limited set of indicators for the respondents' cultural and social integration. For the cultural dimension it inquires about their self-reported speaking and reading skills in German and in their respective mother tongue. It also includes indicators for the frequency in which they use their mother tongue or the German language, or read newspapers in either languages, or cook food and listen to music from their sending country.

To measure the respondents' cultural integration, I use the self-reported language skills indicators. Combining the self-reported reading and speaking skills of the respondents in each language, I composed two separate scales indicating the respondents' general proficiency in them. Of these two scales I than created a set of four patterns which corresponds to the acculturation categories referred to in the theoretical section (a similar measure was used also by Phinney et al. 2001b). These are coded using the mean score on each index as a cutoff point.

Respondents scoring at the mean or lower on each index were coded as low skilled in the respective language. Those scoring higher than the mean were coded as highly skilled in the respective language. Respondents are considered bilinguals if scoring above the mean in both languages; separated if scoring above the mean in their mother tongue but at the mean or lower in German; marginalized if they hold low skills in both languages; and assimilated if they hold high skills in German but average or lower levels of proficiency in their mother tongue.

Language is often considered to represent a cognitive rather than cultural aspect of immigrants' integration. I am therefore also using the information about the respondents' music and cooking habits to measure their cultural commitment to their heritage culture. Because the GSOEP does not include a measure of the frequency with which the respondents listen to German music or cook German food, this indicator does not allow an application of the acculturation types. Instead, I have included in the analysis a scale measuring the frequency with which the ethnic culture is practiced by the respondents. The higher the respondents score on the scale, the less often they practice their ethnic heritage culture, and implicitly, the lower their commitment to it.[20]

For social integration, the GSOEP includes indicators for the ethnic origin of the respondents' three best friends (Haug 2003). Compared with current developments in the field of social networks, this

[20] As most of the foreigners in Germany live in relatively established communities in the cities, food and music from their origin country are relatively accessible for them (see e.g. Ehrkamp 2005).

measure of social integration is rather general in the information it delivers. Hill (1990) underlined in his account the importance of the frequency of interaction between the immigrants and their friends, or the extent of support the respondents get from their friends. More advanced and informative measures can also be found in the works of Lubbers and her colleagues (2007).

The indicator I am using specifically asks the respondents whether their three friends are co-ethnic, German, or members of another ethnic group. Out of their replies, I coded dummy variables representing respondents who reported their friends to be primarily German or otherwise not from their own minority group (assimilation); respondents who reported their friends to be primarily members of their own minority or people outside their minority but not German (separation); respondents who reported to have friends from both their own minority and from the dominant German group, (multiple inclusion); and respondents who reported to have only friends who are neither German nor from their own minority, or to have no friends at all (marginalization).

Among the four types of the acculturation constructed for language and social integration, the most 'radical' outcome in terms of adaptation is that of assimilation, where one losses one's mother tongue skills, or its ties with the ethnic minority and fully embraces the language of the dominant culture and the company of its members. A moderated version of this outcome is multiple-inclusion where the internalization of the language of the dominant culture or the emergence of close ties with its members does not imply the renunciation of one's association with its ethnic culture or ethnic group members. Separation implies a lasting or increasing proficiency in one's mother tongue, and lasting or emerging social ties with co ethnics. Marginalization implies the loss of proficiency in one's mother tongue or of co-ethnic friends, which is however not accompanied by the adoption of practices or ties associated with the dominant culture.

Of the four alternatives, separation will serve as the reference category for both social and language integration. Implying increasing similarities to the German group and decreasing similarities to the ethnic minority, social as well as language assimilation, are expected to increase the respondents' motivations to invest is social mobility. Social and language marginalization are also predicted to motivate social mobility, because they indicate the loss of skills in the mother tongue and the loss of co-ethnic ties, and imply increasing uncertainty regarding one's membership in its ethnic minority.

Social and cultural integration are not only understood as motivation related components of the investment model but also as determinants of the subjective success probabilities component. Language and social assimilation and marginalization can be associated with both mechanisms. Multiple-inclusion in both the social and language dimensions is expected to lead to increasing levels of German or ethnic minority identification only because of the increasing success probabilities it

implies to gain from an investment. Here, the possibility the respondents have to pass as members of the German majority or the ethnic minority will not necessitate a move but will increase the probabilities the respondents will have to gain from a move should they be motivated to engage in one.

The respondents' decreasing commitment to their heritage culture represents a similar pattern to that emerging out of the marginalization alternative discussed above. Although I have no information on the replacement the respondents find for their ethnic cultural music and cuisine, their decreasing commitment to them, implies their weakening importance. I therefore predict that it will increase their motivation to dissociate from their ethnic minority. Its implications for their German identification levels remain to be explored. The consequences of cultural and social integration for the respondents' ethnic identification preferences are summarized in the following hypotheses:

2a: Respondents, demonstrating cultural or social assimilation will show higher levels of German identification, than those they would demonstrate if holding social or cultural separation patterns.

2b: Respondents, demonstrating cultural or social assimilation will also show lower levels of ethnic minority identification than those they would have demonstrated if holding patterns social or cultural separation.

2c: Respondents demonstrating bilingualism or mixed friendship patterns will show higher German identification levels than those they would have demonstrated if culturally or socially separated.

2d: Bilingualism or mixed friendship patterns will also increase the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels compared with those they would have demonstrated if culturally or socially separated.

2e: Respondents demonstrating cultural as well as social marginalization will demonstrate lower levels of ethnic minority identification, than those they would have demonstrated if culturally or socially separated.

2f: Social as well as language marginalization will be inconsequential for the respondents' German identification levels.

2g: The respondents' decreasing commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage in the form of music and cooking practices will decrease their levels of ethnic minority identification.

Social and cultural integration are not the sole determinants of the subjective success probabilities of respondents to gain the expected utilities from social mobility. The respondents' subjective success probabilities in gaining a positive social self-concept from social mobility are additionally represented

by the number of years passed since their immigration, and their generational status. The determinants of the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries similarly represent subjective success probabilities components.

The number of years passed since the respondents' immigration was calculated from their year of immigration and the wave of the survey. Among the German born respondents I have used their age as a proxy for the process of increased exposure captured by the number of years passed since immigration.[21] The number of years passed since immigration is theoretically predicted to increase the respondents' exposure to the receiving society thus increasing their comparative fit to the German category.

The respondents' generational status is also constructed based on their place of birth and their age. As noted earlier, I separate between the first, the 1.5, and the second immigrant generations. The respondents' generational status is similarly targeting the concept of comparative fit discussed in the self-categorization theory. Born in Germany, or living there for most of their lives, respondents affiliated with the younger generations are expected to understand their comparative fit to this group as stronger than that of first generation immigrants. They will therefore have better success probabilities to pass as members of the German dominant group. My hypotheses regarding these two indicators are the following:

3a: As the number of years passed since their immigration increases, the respondents are expected demonstrate higher levels of German identification.

3b: As the number of years passed since their immigration increases, the respondents are expected to demonstrate lower levels of ethnic minority identification.

3c: Respondents affiliated with younger generations are predicted to show higher levels of German identification compared with first generation respondents.

3d: Respondents, affiliated with the younger generations are predicted to show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared to members of their parents' generation.

[21] It is noteworthy that the number of years passed since immigration is often discussed as having a curvilinear association with ethnic identification (Ward et al. 1998). However, the curve is usually observed in the early years after immigration. Considering that the vast majority of the respondents in the sample are long time German residents, I have decided to model the association as a linear one.

A final determinant of the subjective success probabilities respondents expect from their investment is represented in my model through the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries. The GSOEP does not suggest a direct measure of this important concept. It has no items inquiring about the respondents' perceived acceptance by the Germans or similar items suggested in social psychological research. The GSOEP does however include indicators which I associated with the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries in the former chapter namely, inter-ethnic contact, and perceived discrimination. As suggested in the theoretical model, I also understand the respondents' structural integration to represent the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries.

Inter-ethnic contact was estimated using an indicator asking the respondents if they had German visitors at home or visited Germans in their homes.[22] Because visitors could also be professional house maintenance people or other non-friends, this question was thought to represent the general occurrence of contact (correlations between this indicator and the "friendship" indicator were about -0.2).

Perceived discrimination was measured using an indicator asking the respondents how often they have experienced discrimination due to their ethnic background. Respondents who reported to be seldom or often discriminated against were compared with those who never experienced discrimination. Probing the respondents' perceived discrimination experiences, I find this predictor to be suitable for my needs, because I am interested in an evaluation of the context of reception and not in the actual outcomes of discrimination (see e.g.: Branscombe et al. 1999).

Inter-ethnic contact and perceived discrimination are expected to work in opposite ways: the maintenance of inter-ethnic contact is understood to increase the perceived permeability of the boundaries between the ethnic minority and the dominant group. It will thus increase the subjective success probabilities of an investment in social mobility. Perceived discrimination implies to the contrary low permeability of the boundaries between the groups. It will thus decrease the subjective success probabilities of this investment. These competing paths are represented in the following hypotheses, regarding the respondents' ethnic identification preferences:

[22] The GSOEP includes an indicator asking respondents if they have contact with Germans, introduced only till 1999. The indicators I use are measured in every odd year also after 1999. Correlations between the two were reaching 0.6.

4a: Respondents maintaining inter-ethnic contact will demonstrate higher levels of German identification compared to those they would demonstrate if not maintaining it.

4b: Respondents, who experienced discrimination due to their ethnic background, will show lower levels of German identification compared to the levels they would demonstrate if not discriminated against.

4c: Respondents maintaining inter-ethnic contact will demonstrate lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared to those they would demonstrate if not maintaining it.

4d: Respondents, who experienced discrimination due to their ethnic background, will show higher levels of ethnic minority identification compared with those they would demonstrate if not discriminated against.

A final determinant of the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries in my model is the respondents' structural integration. Focusing primarily on topics associated with wealth, labor market position and similar themes, the GSOEP includes a large variety of indicators which could be potentially used to estimate it. Of the different alternatives I selected three indicators namely education, labor market status, and educational background (see e.g. Portes and Rumbaut 2001: p.147-191).

Structural integration is more challenging for an application of the fourfold typology used for the cultural and social integration indicators. Here, individuals typically have only two alternatives, either to integrate into the labor market (or acquire high education) or not. Important distinctions have been made between the 'type' of labor market immigrants integrate into, separating the dominant groups' labor market from the ethnic economy. However, the GSOEP does not provide the needed information to apply this distinction.

The respondents' educational degree is measured through the generated CASMIN classification. Respondents, who have an intermediate level high school degree or a maturity school degree, and respondents holding post secondary education are compared to respondents who completed only basic high school education or less. Respondents' educational background was estimated by dummy variables representing those whose parents completed an intermediate level of education, or higher educational qualifications. They were compared with respondents whose parents had no school education or completed only elementary school.

The respondents' labor market status is measured by dummy variables representing employed immigrants and respondents who are not employed. The non-employment category includes

individuals who are in unemployment, as well as respondents who are in occupational training, school, or retirement. Among the employed respondents, I created four dummies differing according to the level of autonomy they experience on the job (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik 1993). The relative autonomy on the job is computed based on the respondents' labor market status classification. This particular predictor allows me to account for differences in the respondents' socioeconomic status, better than by using the ISEI sores of the respondents, which is characterized by low variance. Both indicators are highly correlated (r=0.75). Altering the autonomy on the job scale, I have also separated the self-employed from other employment categories.[23]

The association of structural integration with ethnic identification preferences is primarily related with its consequences to the respondents' material dependency on their ethnic minority. Material dependency is in turn used to evaluate the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries – the stronger the dependency, the lower the perceived permeability. A higher position in all three indicators is thus predicted increase the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries and one's subjective success probabilities gaining the utilities of a social mobility investment.

As pointed out before, structural integration may also be understood by the immigrants to mark their acceptance by the receiving society. Here too, better educational degree and batter labor market status, but not so much the respondents' educational background, can be understood to increase the respondents German identification levels and decrease their identification with the ethnic minority. Lower education or labor market status will, also here, imply the opposite consequences. Summarizing these propositions the following hypotheses emerge:

5a: Respondents in non-employment will show lower levels of German identification compared with those they would demonstrate if they had a job with only limited autonomy.

5b: Respondents holding a job with intermediate or high levels of autonomy will show higher levels of German identification than those they would show if holding a job with only limited autonomy.

5c: Respondents, who acquired an intermediate or academic high school degree or post secondary education, will demonstrate higher levels of German identification compared with those they would demonstrate holding only basic high school or lower levels of education.

[23] As will be shortly demonstrated, the self-employed category is extremely small. I include it in my analysis primarily in order to separate self-employed individuals from other forms of employment.

5d: Respondents whose educational background is intermediate or high will show higher levels of German identification compared to those of respondents whose parents have only low education if any.

5e: Respondents in non-employment will show higher levels of ethnic minority identification than those they would demonstrate if they had a job with only limited autonomy.

5f: Respondents holding a job with intermediate or high levels of autonomy will show lower levels of identification with their ethnic minority compared with those they would demonstrate if holding a job with only limited autonomy.

5g: Respondents, who acquired an intermediate or academic high school degree or post secondary education, will show lower levels of identification with their ethnic minority compared with those they would demonstrate holding only basic high school or lower levels of education.

5h: Respondents with intermediate or high educational background will show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared to those of respondents with only low educational background.

The theoretical model proposes another important factor that is expected to promote the salience of a specific categorization namely accessibility. However, the data I am using here does not provide a clear measure of this factor. The questionnaire makes the ethnic category accessible, by asking the respondents to refer to the extent to which they identify with it. Accessibility would be possible to measure if respondents could choose their most salient categorization scheme or self-label. In an experimental design one could also use implicit tools to control it. The hypotheses described above are summarized in figure 6.1 below.

Table 6.3 presents the waves in which the different time varying predictors are included. The table first demonstrates that the predictors of the dependent variables (German and ethnic minority identification) are only included in odd years. A second related limitation is that the indicator of the respondents' ethnic minority identification is only available for four waves between 1997 and 2003. [24] The German identification indicator is included in the GSOEP since 1985.

[24] Between 1985 and 1995 the GSOEP asked respondents to report to what extent they still feel foreign in Germany. This item was replaced by the item I am using here. Because both items were not included in the questionnaire at the same time, I cannot estimate their construct validity directly. An approximation of this

Figure 6.1: Hypotheses summary

	Motivations		Success probabilities		Costs	
	Minority	Dominant	Minority	Dominant	Minority	Dominant
Years passed since immigration			-	+		
Generational status:						
First Generation			Ref.	Ref.		
1.5 generation			-	+		
2nd. generation			-	+		
Friendships structure:						
Mixed friendship patterns	0	0	+	+	0	0
Only minority group friends	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Only German friends	-	+	-	+	-	+
Neither German nor minority group friends	-	0	-	0	0	0
Language proficiency:						
Bilingualism	0	0	+	+		
Knowledge of minority group language	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.		
Knowledge of dominant group language	-	+	-	+		
Knowledge of neither languages	-	0	-	0		
Ethnic cultural commitment (Decreasing)	-	0	-	0		
Educational background:						
Low			Ref.	Ref.		
Intermediate			-	+		
high			-	+		
Educational degree:						
No to basic high school			Ref.	Ref.		
Intermediate			-	+		
Post secondary education			-	+		
Labor market status:						
not employed			+	-		
Low labor market status			Ref.	Ref.		
Intermediate labor market status			-	+		
High labor market status (self-employed)			-	+		
Inter ethnic contact			-	+		
Discrimination			+	-		
Ethnic background:						
West Europe	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.		
Turkey	-	+	+	-		
Ex Yugoslavia	-	+	0	0		
South Europe	+	0	0	0		
East Europe	-	+	0	0		

I decided to limit my analysis to the period between 1993 and 2003. The year 2003 is the upper limit for both models because the indicators for ethnic identification are not included in the next waves of

validity is found in appendix 2, presenting their correlations (Pitts et al. 1996) and predictive power. Both tests imply that the two items cannot be empirically understood to represent the same concept.

the GSOEP. I use 1993 as the first wave in an attempt to remain as conservative as possible when imputing the different predictors used to explain ethnic identification. Inconsistencies in the inclusion of the predictors in the waves of the sample disqualified the use of lagged values. Instead, for those waves where the indicators were not included, I imputed respondents' values from the closest wave they were included in (Kalter 2006). Limiting the period in this way allows me to impute the needed values only as far as three years backwards (for the case of discrimination), and three years forward (for the case of social integration).

Missing values were imputed to the mean in both continuous indicators. In order to control for possible bias and loss of information, dummy variables were introduced into the models for indicators with 5 percent of missing cases or more (see also Mason 2004).[25] Respondents who were missing on the dependent variables were excluded from the analysis. Because the indicators measuring ethnic identification were only introduced in odd years, I am left with 6 waves for the case of German identification. For the case of ethnic minority identification where the first available wave is 1997, only 4 waves were available. The main features of the two samples are presented in table 6.4 below.

[25] Missing information on the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration was imputed using the mean number of years passed since the respondents' immigration, but not the mean age.

Table 6.3: Integration related indicators by sample waves

	German identity	Ethnic minority identity	Language skills	Cultural commitment	Social networks	Inter-ethnic contact	Perceived discrimination	Educational degree	Labor market status
1984	x							x	x
1985	x		x			x		x	x
1986	x							x	x
1987	x		x			x		x	x
1988				x	x			x	x
1989	x		x			x		x	x
1990				x	x			x	x
1991	x		x			x		x	x
1992				x	x			x	x
1993	x		x			x		x	x
1994				x	x			x	x
1995	x		x			x		x	x
1996				x	x		x	x	x
1997	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
1998				x			x	x	x
1999	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
2000				x			x	x	x
2001	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
2002							x	x	x
2003	x	x	x			x	x	x	x

(source: GSOEP group)

Table 6.4: Sample characteristics (frequencies, and means with std. in parenthesis)

Variable:	German identification sample	Ethnic minority identification sample
German identification	2.48 (1.15)	---
Ethnic minority identification	---	3.72 (0.95)
Ethnic background:		
Turkey	36.51%	35.56%
Ex-Yugoslavia	19.87%	18.82%
South Europe	35.78%	33.65%
East Europe	2.96%	4.56%
West Europe	2.80%	4.12%
Other (Africa, Asia, Americas, Oceania)	2.08%	3.29%
Generational status:		
First generation	69.23%	69.34%
1.5 generation	9.32%	9.41%
Second generation	21.46%	21.26%
Years passed since immigration:	22.48 (8.63)	23.32 (9.33)
Language acculturation types:		
Multiple inclusion	17.70%	18.90%
Assimilation	23.53%	23.62%
Separation	27.34%	27.25%
Marginalization	30.19%	29.15%
Ethnic culture commitment:	2.60 (0.81)	2.65 (0.79)
Friendship acculturation types:		
Multiple inclusion	27.14%	24.59%
Assimilation	18.99%	19.98%
Separation	45.66%	41.60%
Marginalization	1.65%	1.10%
Educational background		
No school	48.23%	45.37%
Primary school	26.87%	29.03 %
Secondary school or higher	14.85%	15.56%
Respondents' education		
Basic high-school degree or less	72.28%	68.39%
Intermediate vocational or academic	17.66%	18.38%
Post secondary education	4.90%	6.61%
Labor market status:		
Not employed	41.95%	43.83%
Low labor market status	32.06%	29.39%
Intermediate labor market status	14.77%	14.00%
High labor market status	9.79%	12.22%
Self-employed	1.24%	0.30%
Inter-ethnic contact:		
No	15.36%	14.62%
Yes	83.91%	84.46%
Discrimination:		
No	50.18%	55.54%
Yes	46.04%	43.86%
N	2,641	2,023
Person year cases	10,291	3,656

*The remaining cases are missing (source: GSOEP 1993–2003)

Starting from the sample used to predict the respondents' German identification levels, one can see that the mean level of German identification among the respondents rests at a value of approximately 2.5 that is close to the middle of the scale. In line with other statistical data about Germany's foreign population (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2007), the largest group of respondents is Turkish, followed by respondents from south European states (Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal). The third largest group is that of foreign nationals from the former Yugoslavian countries. Only a small group of east European immigrants was included in the sample. The reference category, west Europeans, includes 305 person year cases composing 3 per cent of the sample.

The mean number of years passed since the respondents' immigration is relatively high, with 22.5 years on average. Since the mean age of German-born second generation respondents is 23, the integration of these two variables was inconsequential. The high number of years passed since immigration remains unaffected by the inclusion of the age of German born respondents in the coding of this indicator, all 16 or older. Their mean age is 23 years. The generational composition of the sample indicates that most of the respondents belong to the first immigrant generation and among them less than 10 per cent arrived at the age of six to twelve. 21 per cent of the respondents are German born descendents of immigrants who do not hold the German citizenship. Their relative share in my sample is higher than their share in the German population, estimated at about a 11 per cent (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2007). However, in my own sample this number also includes first generation immigrants who migrated as infants.

As expected, respondents demonstrate more often language separation than language assimilation. Surprisingly, some 27 per cent of the respondents report not to speak or write in both languages to a good level. The mean value of the respondents' ethnic cultural commitment is close to the center of the scale, and the small standard deviation around it suggests that the distribution is highly concentrated around it. The social integration of the respondents is somewhat different. Most of the respondents report to have only co-ethnic friends (46 per cent) and over a quarter of them report to have a mixed network. A smaller group of respondents reported to have only Germans among their three close friends, and only a very small minority among them reported to have neither co-ethnic nor German friends.

Most respondents hold only a basic high-school degree or lower educational qualifications. They also hold a low educational background. Although not highly educated, the majority of the respondents are employed. Some 32 per cent of the participants work in jobs classified as allowing only a low level of autonomy on the job, while about 15 per cent of them hold jobs with an intermediate level of autonomy. Only about 10 per cent of them are employed in jobs which allow high levels of autonomy.

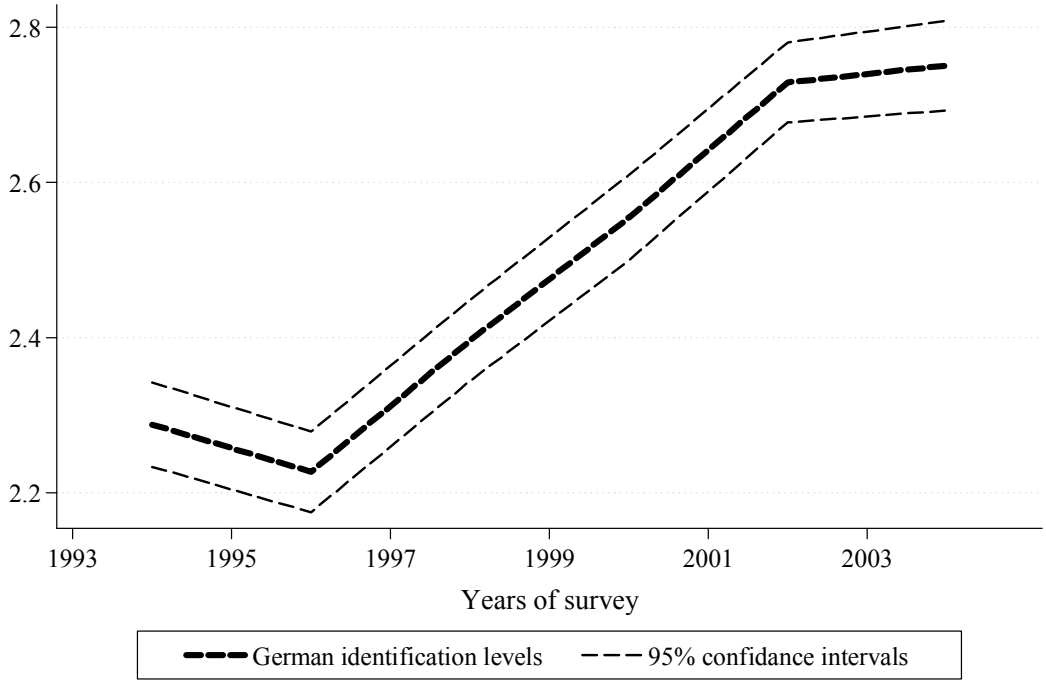
The number of self-employed among the respondents is very low. Over 80 per cent of the respondents reported to have inter-ethnic contact. About 46 per cent of them reported being discriminated against due to their ethnic origin.

The characteristics of the participants in the smaller sample used to predict the respondents' ethnic minority identification, are very similar to those described above. The mean level of ethnic minority identification among the respondents is 3.7. The average number of years passed since the respondents' immigration is slightly higher than that observed in longer sample with 23 years. The distribution of the respondents across the different types of language integration is similar to that reported above. The percentage of respondents with mixed friendships (multiple-inclusion) or those who are socially separated is slightly lower.

With regard to the structural integration indicators, the shorter sample includes more individuals with intermediate educational background and fewer individuals with lower educational background. The percentage of respondents with post secondary education is also slightly higher in this sample. The ethnic minority sample participants are also more represented in high autonomy jobs, and less represented in the low autonomy jobs. The percentage of respondents who reported to be discriminated against due to their ethnic background is slightly smaller in the ethnic minority identification sample compared with the German identification sample. In the shorter sample, some 290 person year cases are with west European ethnic background making 4.12 per cent of the sample.

The longitudinal nature of the data also suggests interesting properties in terms of differences in its composition between the waves. Attending to the dependent variables first, figure 6.2 demonstrates the changes in the respondents' mean levels of German identification across the sample waves. The mean values for each of the waves are slightly below the middle category (3) in all waves. As expected, they increase over time, except for the decrease observed between 1993 and 1995.

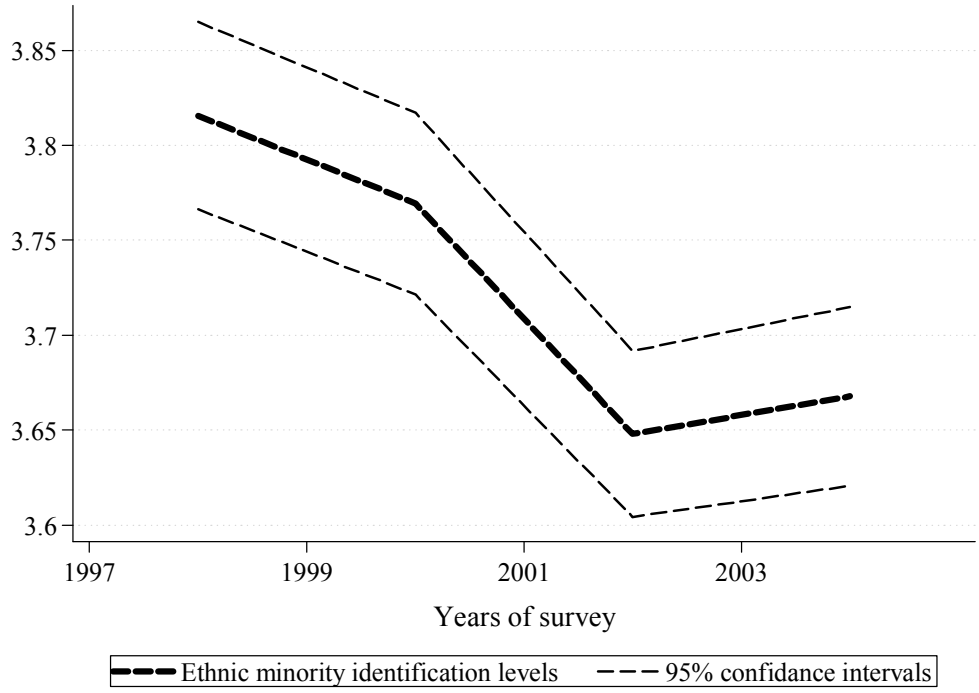
Figure 6.2: Respondents' mean levels of German identification across the sample waves



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Looking at the changes in the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels based on the shorter sample a similar but opposite pattern emerges. Figure 6.3 shows only small changes in the respondents' mean ethnic minority identification levels. These changes correspond to those observed in the respondents' German identification levels. Although minor, the changes go in line with my expectation that over time, the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels decrease.

Figure 6.3: Respondents' mean levels of ethnic minority identification across the sample waves



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

The hypotheses suggested above seek to explain these changes by reference to the expected subjective utility theory. In order to explore their potential to do so I first describe below their relationships with both the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. Table 6.5 presents the bivariate analyses of each of the indicators described above with either identification types. It additionally demonstrates whether the patterns of interest are significant or not at the 0.05 level.

Starting from the top of the table, it is evident that respondents with west European ethnic background hold the highest mean level of German identification (3.16). Interestingly, only respondents with Turkish ethnic background show significantly lower levels of German identification in comparison to them.[26] Thus, although they hold the weakest position in the German society compared to the other groups included in the sample, Turks do not seem to invest more in German identification, but rather less. I find no significant differences in the mean levels of ethnic minority identification of

[26] Significance was tested for each year separately comparing each of the categories with the reference group in a t test. A star means that the difference is significant across all waves at the 0.05 level.

respondents' from different ethnic background groups. Respondents with east European ethnic background demonstrate the lowest mean level of ethnic minority identification.

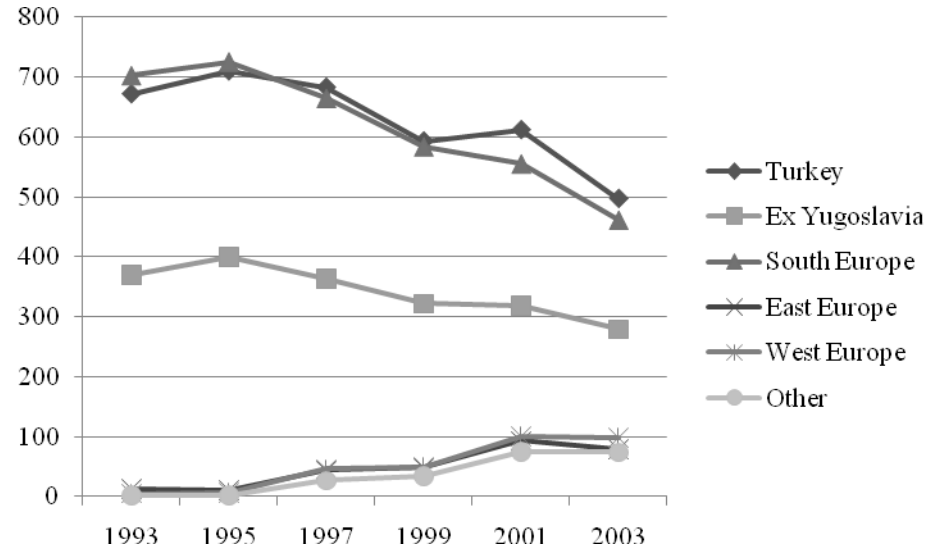
Table 6.5: Mean levels of German and ethnic minority identification (std.) according to the different indicators

	German identification	Ethnic minority identification
Country of origin		
Turkey	2.23* (1.09)	3.71 (0.95)
Ex Yugoslavia	2.74 (1.14)	3.57 (0.92)
South Europe	2.50 (1.13)	3.84 (0.94)
West Europe	3.16 (1.42)	3.75 (1.07)
East Europe	2.83 (1.15)	3.45 (1.02)
Other	2.47 (1.09)	3.88 (0.94)
Generational status		
First generation	2.29 (1.10)	3.87 (0.90)
1.5 *generation*	2.71* (1.14)	3.50* (1.00)
Second *generation*	2.97* (1.14)	3.33* (0.97)
Educational background		
Low	2.31 (1.08)	3.79 (0.91)
Intermediate	2.69* (1.17)	3.50* (1.00)
High	2.84* (1.20)	3.32 (0.97)
Educational degree		
No to basic high-school degree	2.39 (1.12)	3.76 (0.94)
Intermediate vocational or academic	2.74* (1.20)	3.62 (0.98)
Post secondary education	2.81 (1.13)	3.70 (0.92)
Labor market status		
Not employed	2.33 (1.15)	3.79 (0.96)
Low labor market status	2.38 (1.10)	3.76 (0.94)
Intermediate labor market status	2.76* (1.12)	3.60 (0.94)
High labor market status	2.97 (1.13)	3.56 (0.97)
Self-employed	2.62 (1.10)	3.21 (0.79)
Language integration		
Assimilation	3.15* (1.13)	3.21* (0.96)
Separation	2.14 (1.02)	4.01 (0.86)
Marginalization	2.07 (0.98)	3.85* (0.85)
Multiple-inclusion	2.78* (1.14)	3.74* (0.99)
Social integration		
Assimilation	3.11* (1.20)	3.46* (1.00)
Separation	2.13 (1.03)	3.90 (0.88)
Marginalization	2.19 (1.14)	3.53 (1.04)
Multiple-inclusion	2.64* (1.07)	3.59* (0.90)
Inter-ethnic contact		
Yes	2.61* (1.14)	3.66* (0.95)
No	1.75 (0.71)	4.10 (0.86)
Discrimination		
Yes	2.27* (1.07)	3.79 (0.92)
No	2.68 (1.18)	3.67 (0.98)
General mean	2.47 (1.15)	3.72 (0.95)

(source: GSOEP 1993-2003, own analysis)

These findings may be affected by the fluctuation of entries and exists of participants into or out of the survey, as some of the respondents were observed only twice during the period of the sample while others were observed more frequently. Figure 6.4 below, postulates the proportions of respondents in the different waves of the long sample, aimed to explore German identification, separated according to their ethnic background.

Figure 6.4: Ethnic group size across the sample waves

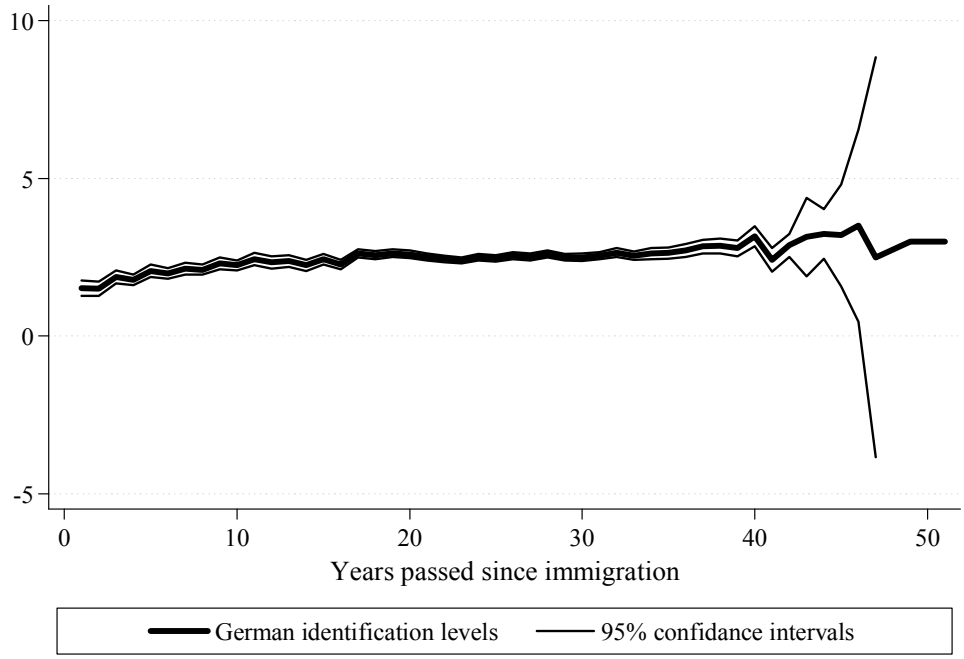


(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Generally the proportions of the respondents remain rather stable across the waves. However, while the number of participants from the traditional labor immigration sending countries decreases, that of east and west European as well as other immigrants slightly increases, particularly after 1999. The same trends are also found in the shorter sample for the exploration of the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels.

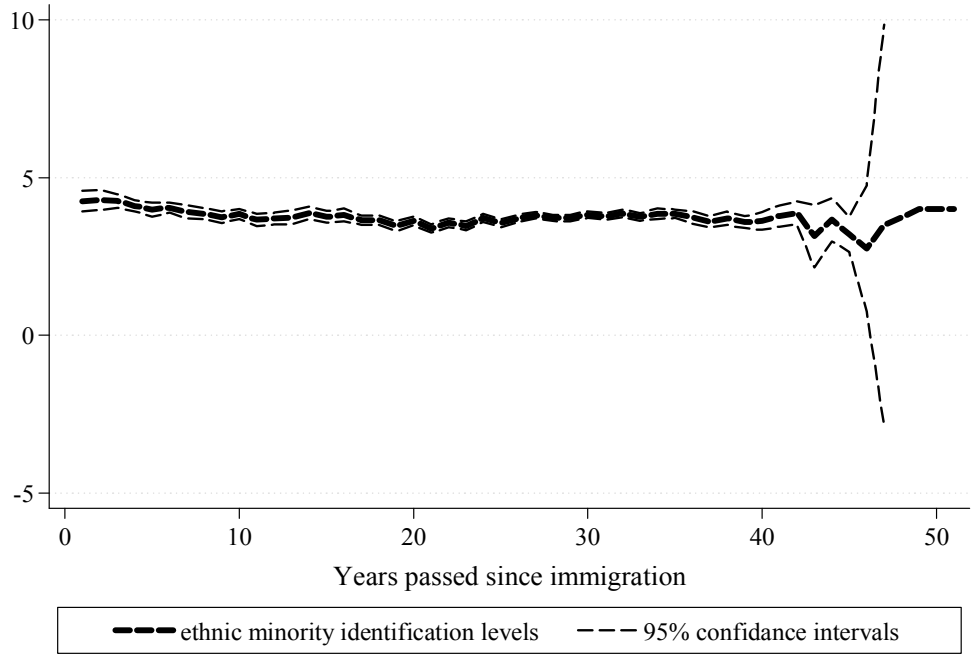
Looking next at the respondents' generational status, it is evident that respondents of the younger immigrant generations demonstrate significantly higher German identification levels and lower levels of identification with their ethnic minority. Another indicator which is predicted to shape the respondents' German as well as ethnic minority identification levels and is not included in table 6.5, is the number of years passed since their immigration (or their age for the case of German born respondents). Figure 6.5 demonstrates that the respondents' German identification levels do not change much with the number of years passed since their immigration. This finding suggests that if the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration affects their German identification levels, this effect is rather small.

Figure 6.5: Mean levels of German identification as the years since the respondents' immigration pass



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Figure 6.6: Mean levels of ethnic minority identification as the years since the respondents' immigration pass



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

The large confidence intervals in the end of the scale are a result of the small number of respondents who have been living in Germany for such a long time. Modeling changes in the respondents' ethnic minority identification figure 6.6 shows a similar pattern, pointing in the opposite direction.

The next few lines of table 6.5 describe the respondents' mean levels of German and ethnic minority identification, as they differ according to their educational background. Here one can see that as expected, respondents whose educational background is intermediate or high demonstrate significantly higher mean levels of German identification compared with respondents with only a low educational background (2.69 and 2.84 respectively). This is not the case for respondents' ethnic minority mean identification levels, where only the difference between respondents with intermediate and low educational background is significant (3.50 and 3.79 respectively).

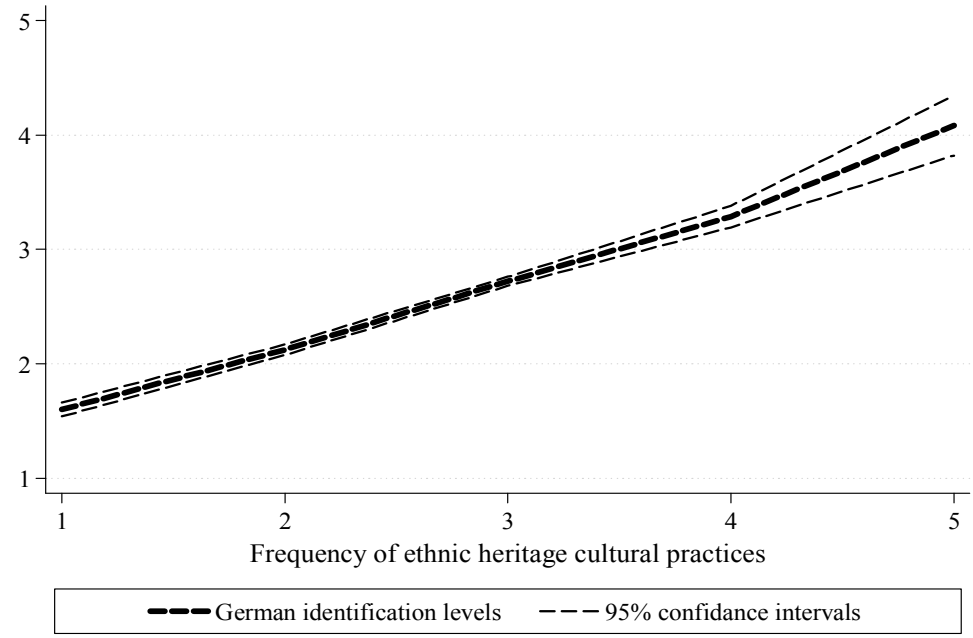
The different mean levels of German identification found among respondents with different education degrees, also support my hypothesis. The mean levels of German identification of respondents with intermediate or higher secondary education are significantly higher compared with those of respondents with only basic high school or lower education (2.74 and 2.39 respectively). While the higher mean levels of ethnic minority identification observed among undereducated respondents also support my hypothesis, the differences between the different education groups, are here insignificant. Differences in the mean levels of ethnic identification of respondents who differ in their labor market status were also significant only when related to their German identification. Respondents who enjoy an intermediate or higher status in their job show higher mean levels of German identification compared to those holding only a low status job (2.76 and 2.38 respectively).

Proceeding to the cultural integration indicators, the table suggests that respondents demonstrating a language assimilation pattern show significantly higher mean levels of German identification compared with those demonstrating language separation (3.15 and 2.14 respectively). The German identification levels of bilingual respondents are slightly lower but are also significantly higher than those observed among language separated respondents (2.78). The second column of table 6.5 reveals that respondents who demonstrate language marginalization or bilingualism differ significantly from respondents who are language separated in their mean ethnic minority identification levels (3.85 and 3.74 respectively).

A second indicator of cultural integration was the respondents' commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage. This indicator is measured on a scale from 1 (only ethnic minority) to 5 (not at all ethnic minority). As demonstrated in figures 6.7 and 6.8 below, this indicator is also found to imply changes in the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. As expected, the respondents'

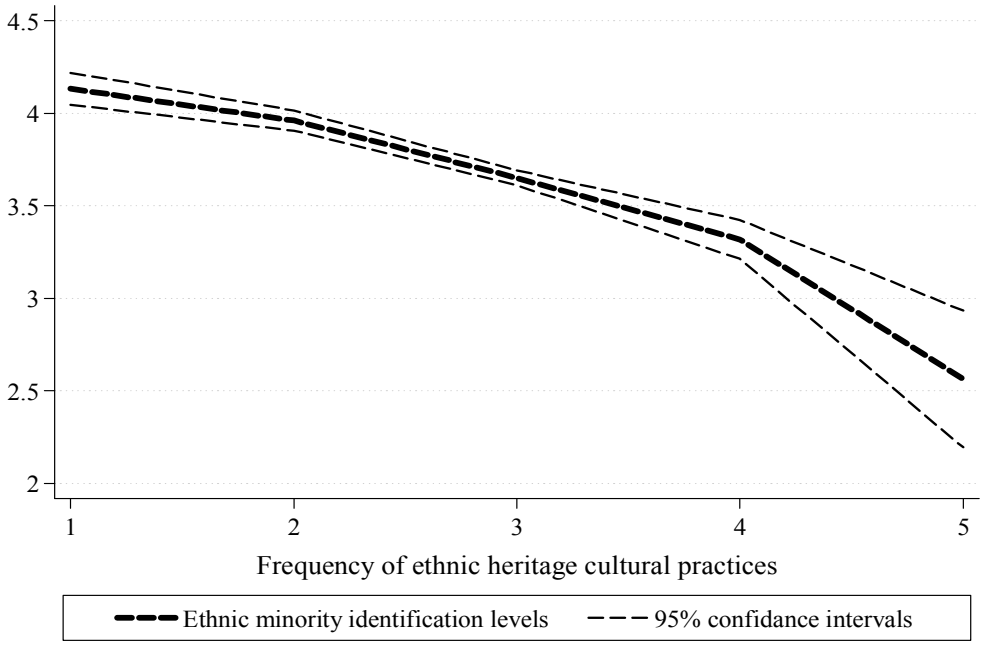
mean levels of German identification increase as their commitment to their ethnic minority cultural practices decreases. Their mean levels of ethnic minority identification correspondingly decrease.

Figure 6.7: Mean German identification levels according to the respondents' commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Figure 6.8: Mean ethnic minority identification levels according to the respondents' commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Returning to table 6.5 above, the next lines present the mean levels of the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification, divided according to their social integration patterns. It is interesting that respondents, who are either socially assimilated or hold mixed friendship patterns show significantly higher mean levels of German identification from those observed among separated respondents (3.11 and 2.64, and 2.13 respectively). In the case of ethnic minority identification, significant differences are also found between socially assimilated respondents or those who have mixed friendship patterns and socially separated respondents (3.46, 3.59, and 3.90 respectively).

The two last lines described in table 6.5 attend to the indicators of the intergroup context namely inter-ethnic contact and discrimination. Supporting the hypotheses made above, respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact demonstrate significantly higher mean levels of German identification than respondents who do not maintain them (2.61, and 1.75 respectively). A similar but opposite relationship is found with regard to the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. Here, the mean levels of ethnic minority identification among respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact are lower (3.66, and 4.10 respectively). Experiences of discrimination are associated with significantly lower levels of German identification (2.27, and 2.68 respectively).

Although revealing, the findings above present only a descriptive picture of the relations between the indicators and the dependent variables. Moreover, they reflect differences between person year cases rather than respondents, and are thus not very useful for testing the causal relations between them. Finally, a bivariate analysis is limited each time to the relations between one indicator and the dependent variable thus concealing the possible interventions of the different indicators in each others' workings. Only once all possible effects are included in one model can one really determine which of the indicators is meaningful and to what extent. Both challenges are attended to in the regression models to be presented next. Before I describe the findings from these models I elaborate on the method used to estimate them.

6.4 Method

As suggested in the introduction, one of the main contributions of this dissertation is its use of a longitudinal approach to explain changes in the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. The estimation of the regression models is done using a hybrid model which allows an estimation of both time constant and time varied covariates. The advantage of this method is that unlike random effect models, it provides a within estimation of the time varied covariates, like the one used in fixed effect models. It decomposes each time-varying predictor into its 'within' and 'between' differences, and uses both for the analysis, allowing to separate the within from the between effects and test whether

they are the same (Allison 2009). A hybrid model produces fixed effect estimates for the time varying predictors and at the same time also provides estimates for the time-constant predictors.

The hybrid model is formally an extended version of a random effect model presented in formula 6.1. The random effect model is composed of four main components. α represents the equation's constant, β_1 represents the time constant covariates and β_2 the time varied covariates. v_{it} represents unobserved time contact covariates, which are assumed, within the random effect model, to be random variables. Their covariance with the predictors included in the model is assumed to be equal to zero.

(6.1) $$y_{it} = \alpha_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_{it} + v_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Unlike a random effect model, in a hybrid model, the time varied covariates are broken into two components (see formula 6.2). β_2, accounts for the fixed effects and β_3, controls for person-means (Allison 2009).

(6.2) $$y_{it} = \alpha_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 (x_{it} - \bar{x}_i) + b_3 \bar{x}_{it} + v_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

It is important to note that unlike in a random effects model, the effects of the time varying covariates in a hybrid model are no longer biased due to unobserved heterogeneity because the between variation is controlled for. However generally, a hybrid model is subjected to the same assumptions a random effect model is subjected to. Given that the substantial predictors in a hybrid model are deviations from the mean, dummy variables do not maintain their binary form.

Due to the ordered nature of the dependent variables, it would have also been possible to use an ordered logistic regression to estimate the effects of the different indicators on the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. However, to the best of my knowledge no statistical program provides with a hybrid model for this estimation method (Allison 2009). I did estimate pooled ordered logistic regressions for both dependent variables, and compared them with pooled OLS regression results. As demonstrated in appendix 3, the estimations provided by the ordered logistic models do not differ much from those provided by the OLS models. Although the coefficients are usually larger in the ordered logistic regression models the directions and the significance of the indicators remain the same. The hypothesis of parallel lines was rejected in both ordered logistic models.

6.5 Findings

Table 6.6 presents the findings from the OLS hybrid regression models, predicting the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. For indicators with 5 per cent missing values or

more, the models additionally included dummies to account for their potentially different German or ethnic minority identification levels. These were excluded from the table below due to space considerations. In the longer sample, I included two such dummies for the respondents' social integration patterns and their educational background. In the shorter sample, an additional dummy for the respondents' educational degree was included. In both I have also included a dummy for respondents, missing on the number of years passed since immigration, however, there was no within variance in this indicator. In both models, none of the fixed missing dummy indicators were significant. The control variable for the respondents' gender was also insignificant in both models.

The models also include dummy variables for the years of the survey to reduce potential bias caused by period effects in the time changing indicators. In the model predicting the respondents' German identification levels, two of these dummies turned out to be significant, namely the indicators for 1995 and 2001 (b=-0.07, and 0.26 respectively). These effects imply that when asked in 1995 respondents demonstrate lower levels of German identification compared to those they demonstrated in 1993. Asked in 2001 the respondents demonstrated to the contrary higher levels of German identification compared to those they demonstrated in 1993. The second effect may be associated with the changes occurring in Germany's naturalization policy and its formal acknowledgment that it is an immigrant receiving country. These changes may have contributed to a stronger attachment of the immigrants to it.

Before attending to the more substantial findings of the models, two notes should be made regarding its general properties. First, although the intercepts in both models are outside the range of the dependent variables (ranging between 1 and 5), only 0.6 per cent of the predicted values for the respondents' German identification levels were lower than 1. The predicted values of the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels were all within the range. Second, when interpreting the results of the models, one must keep in mind that ethnic identifications may also be subjected to the influence of psychological determinants like openness, and adaptability, which are not controlled in the analysis. Because these determinants may also affect other indicators like language skills, or friendship patterns, they may lead to bias related with unobserved heterogeneity. The causal associations found also for the fixed effects, should therefore be interpreted with caution.

Starting with the respondents' German identification levels, the findings in table 6.6 reject my hypotheses regarding the respondents' generational status. The coefficients for both generations are negative and insignificant. The effect for the number of years passed since immigration, is also insignificant, however here the sign of the coefficient is as expected, positive. Only ex-Yugoslavian respondents demonstrates significantly higher levels of German identification compared with west

European respondents (b=0.21). Although insignificant, the German identification levels of respondents with Turkish, and east as well as south European ethnic background were also higher compared with those of respondents with west European ethnic background.

Among the different indicators of the respondents' structural integration, only the respondents educational degree and their labor market status affect their German identification levels significantly. When holding intermediate high-school education respondents report lower levels of German identification than when holding a lower educational degree (b=-0.10). This finding rejects my dependency hypothesis and suggests instead a pattern of underclass integration, described by the segmented assimilation perspective. In non-employment, respondents show slightly lower levels of German identification compared to holding low status jobs (b=-0.06). The self-employed also demonstrate higher levels of German identification (b=0.20), however, they are a very small group.

Respondents demonstrating language assimilation show higher levels of German identification than those they show if demonstrating language separation (b=0.30). A similar trend is also observed among bilingual respondents (b=0.15). Interestingly, I find that if they hold only low skills in both German and their mother tongue (marginalization), the respondents' levels of German identification are also higher than if they are skilled only in their mother tongue (b=0.06). The model also conveys that a one point decrease in the respondents' commitment to their ethnic heritage culture leads to a small increase in their German identification levels (b=0.05). In terms of social integration, the model indicates that respondents demonstrating social assimilation show higher levels of German identification than those they show if demonstrating social separation (b=0.13). The coefficients of social multiple-inclusion and marginalization were also positive, but insignificant at the 0.05 level.

The indicators representing the intergroup context also corroborate my hypotheses. First, respondents who maintain contact with Germans show higher levels of German identification than those they show if not maintaining it (b=0.19). Second, respondents reporting to have experienced discrimination due to their ethnic background show lower levels of German identification than those they show if not experiencing it (b=-0.05).

The model predicting the respondents' ethnic identification levels indicate that respondents affiliated with the younger generations, show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with first generation immigrants. Among respondents' affiliated with the second generation, this effect is significant (b=-0.21). These findings corroborate my hypothesis. The number of years passed since immigration has no significant effect on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels once the rest of the indicators are included in the model.

Looking at the respondents' ethnic background I find that respondents from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and east Europe all demonstrate lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with west European respondents (b=-0.37, -0.33 and -0.47 respectively). The same is also true for respondents represented by the 'other' category (b=-0.25). South European respondents, who are EU citizens, also show lower levels of ethnic minority identification than those found among west European respondents; however the difference between these two groups is insignificant. The significant negative effect found for Turkish respondents, does not fit my hypothesis. It implies that although their success probabilities from a social mobility investment were expected to be low, Turks do engage in it.

Contrary to my prediction, respondents with high educational background were found to show higher and not lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with respondents with only low educational background (b=0.12). The educational degree of the respondents and their labor market status, do not significantly shape their ethnic minority identification levels. However, at least in the case of the later indicator the directions of the coefficients corroborate my hypotheses that with decreasing material dependency on the ethnic minority, levels of identification with it decrease. With regard to the respondents' educational degree, one can see that respondents, whose educational degree improved, show higher and not lower levels of ethnic minority identification. This finding goes contrary to my predictions, and mirrors the effects found for the respondents' German identification levels.

A methodological note should be made regarding the significance of this and other 'within individual' effects observed which may be a result of low within individual variance, leading to exceptionally large standard errors. The low within variance in the case of educational degree is not surprising given that the respondents are already 17 years old as they enter the panel and most have only basic to intermediate education.

Of the cultural integration indicators, only the respondents' language integration appears to contribute to changes in the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. Respondents, demonstrating language assimilation, show lower levels of ethnic minority identification than those they show if language separated. Similar differences are also observed among respondents who move from language separation to language marginalization (b=-0.15 and -0.11 respectively). Transitions between language separation and bilingualism do not imply significant changes in the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. From the different indicators of social integration, only marginalization is found to be significant (b=-0.37) but, one needs to remember that the number of respondents within this category throughout the waves of the sample was under two per cent.

Table 6.6: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) predicting respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.11	(0.06)
First generation	reference		reference	
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	0.13	(0.09)	-0.37***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.21**	(0.08)	-0.33***	(0.08)
East Europe	0.17	(0.10)	-0.47***	(0.10)
South Europe	0.01	(0.08)	-0.03	(0.08)
West Europe	reference		reference	
Other	-0.03	(0.11)	-0.25*	(0.10)
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (inter.)	0.06	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.01	(0.05)	0.12*	(0.05)
Educational degree (no to basic high school)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (vocational or academic)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post-secondary)	-0.13	(0.11)	0.15	(0.13)
Not employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
intermediate labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.20*	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)
Language assimilation	0.30***	(0.04)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.15***	(0.04)	-0.008	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.06*	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.009	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	
1997	0.05	(0.05)	reference	
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.26*	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.23	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)
_cons	0.81***	(0.22)	5.11***	(0.19)
Person year cases	10291		6356	
n	2641		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003, own analysis)

The model also only partially confirmed my hypotheses about the intergroup context. Of the two indicators representing it, only inter-ethnic contact is found to shape the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. The levels of ethnic minority identification demonstrated by the respondents are lower if they maintain inter-ethnic contact than if they do not maintain it (b=-0.12). This effect is however smaller than that found predicting the respondents' German identification levels. Interestingly, discrimination experiences did not significantly increase the respondents' ethnic minority identification.

Finally, the hybrid OLS models allow to test whether the fixed effects significantly differ from the random effects.[27] This test is based on a Wald test equating the coefficients of the demeaned indicators with those of the person mean indicators. If they are found to be equal, there is no contribution for the inclusion of the fixed effects. However if they are not, the fixed effects should be understood to improve the accuracy of the estimation (Allison 2009).

Table 6.7: Results of the fixed vs. random effects test, chi^2 (prob>chi^2)

	German identification	Ethnic minority identification
Educational degree (intermediate)	0.09 (0.76)	2.66 (0.10)
Educational degree (tertiary)	0.07 (0.79)	0.33 (0.57)
Non-employment	4.63 (0.03)	0.50 (0.48)
Intermediate labor market status	6.93 (0.01)	0.92 (0.34)
High labor market status	0.02 (0.88)	0.98 (0.32)
Self-employed	0.79 (0.37)	0.47 (0.49)
Language assimilation	36.99 (0.00)	32.15 (0.00)
Language Multiple-inclusion	3.85 (0.05)	1.19 (0.27)
Language Marginalization	0.64 (0.42)	4.66 (0.03)
Social assimilation	12.56 (0.00)	7.21 (0.00)
Social Multiple-inclusion	6.06 (0.01)	1.43 (0.23)
Social Marginalization	0.09 (0.80)	1.34 (0.24)
Inter-ethnic contact	15.33 (0.00)	2.48 (0.11)
Discrimination	24.54 (0.00)	6.97 (0.00)
Cultural preferences	114.50 (0.00)	48.08 (0.00)
Years passed since immigration	0.00 (0.96)	2.16 (0.14)
Total outcome	346.40 (0.00)	138.23 (0.00)

(source: GSOEP, 1993-2003; own analysis)

As demonstrated in table 6.7 these differences were significant for both models, suggesting that the fixed effects coefficients should be preferred over the random effects. Particularly useful are the fixed

[27] The random effects for both models are reported in appendix 4.

indicators for language integration and discrimination as well as cultural preferences. It is also evident from the table above that fixed effects become more useful as the number of observations for each individual increases. Therefore, they contribute more to the German identification model than to the ethnic minority identification model.

6.6 Summary

The findings described above suggest several important conclusions. One of these conclusions is related with the respondents' generational status. As indicated above, affiliation with the younger generations is not found to increase the respondents' German identification levels once all other indicators are included in the model. This finding rejects my own theoretical proposition, and also goes contrary to the classical integration perspectives.

One explanation for this finding may lay in the respective reference groups the respondents use for social comparison and categorization. While perceived by their parents' generation as 'Germans' the younger immigrant generations are perceived by Germans as 'foreigners'. Thus, while questioning their place in the ethnic minority they are still unable to fully understand themselves as Germans. Such an explanation also fits psychological claims regarding the difficult position of the second generation "between two cultures", unable to find their place in neither of them (Hämmig 2000). In line with the findings reported by Diehl and Schnell (2006), who also used the GSOEP, I find no indication for any form of reactive ethnicity among younger immigrant generations. In fact, affiliation with the 1.5 or second generation decreases the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels.

A second important conclusion deriving from the analysis above is related with the often made claims regarding the strong will of some of Germany's ethnic communities to separate. As theoretically expected, members of the disadvantaged minorities in the German society, actually do not seek to maintain strong levels of ethnic minority identification, they rather show patterns of dissociation from it. This is true for all ethnic minority group members, but the southern European one.

It is also interesting that only ex-Yugoslavian respondents show significantly higher German identification levels compared to those observed among west European respondents. Unfortunately, the GSOEP does not include direct and more precise indicators for the respondents' perceived ethnic group status. I therefore cannot determine whether the reasons I specified above for the more complex consequences of Turkish ethnic background for example account for the insignificant effect found among them. One interesting question in this regard would be whether the perceived intergroup context or the social integration of individual respondents intervenes in the associations between their ethnic background and German identification levels.

A third point relates to the respondents' language integration patterns. It has to do with the strong influence of the respondents' mother tongue skills on their German identification. This influence is indicated in the positive and significant effect of language assimilation but also language marginalization on the respondents' German identification levels. Evidently, the decreasing skills of the respondents in their mother tongue suffice to encourage them to engage in social mobility, also in the form of increasing their German identification levels. This idea is also supported by the minor but significant effect of the respondents' decreasing commitment to the food and music of their ethnic cultural heritage.

It is also revealing that the respondents' social and cultural integration patterns do not imply the same consequences for their German and ethnic minority identification preferences. For example, while language assimilation was found to decrease the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, implying the decreasing role of the ethnic minority culture in their lives, this is not the case for social assimilation.

While the effect of language multiple-inclusion confirms that the transition from separation to this pattern of language integration increases the respondents' investment related subjective success probabilities, this is not the case for social multiple-inclusion. The findings suggest that only once friendships with Germans take precedence over intra ethnic friendships, the costs are low enough to allow one an investment.

Corresponding to the literature on emotional integration and ethnic identities, the associations between ethnic identification and structural integration are the most challenging in my models. This is particularly true for education. For example, high educational background is found to have the same positive consequences for both forms of ethnic identification, and not opposite consequences. One explanation for the unexpected positive effect of educational background on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels is that although it can serve to reduce the respondents' dependency on their ethnic minority, the respondents' educational background also carries a significant positive relation with the country of origin. It may thus represent a positive property which the immigrants or their children can associate with their country of origin (Rumbaut 1994).

Educational degree does imply opposite consequences for the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. However, contrary to my dependency hypothesis, higher education decreases levels of German identification while increasing levels of ethnic minority identification. Both indicators reject my utility related assumption, according to which the attractiveness of the ethnic minority identification depends on the material dependency of individuals on their ethnic community. Ono (2002) suggested an alternative explanation which might clear out these patterns using the

concept of ethnic awareness. She maintained that high socioeconomic status may, under conditions of ethnic competition, contribute to the immigrants' ethnic minority identification. Unlike education, the findings regarding the respondents' labor market status support my hypothesis indicating that individuals, whose structural position is worsened, demonstrate lower levels of German identification.

Finally, as expected, both inter-ethnic contact and discrimination, matter for the respondents' German identification levels and their effects are opposing one another. While discrimination, representing perceived impermeable boundaries, leads to decreasing German identification levels, inter-ethnic contact, associated with the increasing permeability of these boundaries, increases them. It is meaningful that encounters with Germans, either in the immigrants' home, or in German homes can be understood to encourage the process of 'boundary blurring' to use Alba and Nee's term, between the migrants and the natives. While inter-ethnic contact also decreases the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, discrimination has no significant effect on it.

In general, the prediction of the respondents' ethnic minority identification is found to be more challenging than that of their German identification. This may imply that this form of identification is more stable. It may also imply that changes in this form of ethnic identification are guided by a different set of mechanisms not included in my model. More than time changing variables, it is the constant characteristics of the respondents which seem to explain differences in their ethnic minority identification. These are primarily the respondents' generational status, and their ethnic background. This finding may have however a clear empirical explanation, namely, the shorter sample I am using to model this form of ethnic identification, and the lower within respondents variance it implies.

Given that both models only partially support the theoretical model suggested there is a need to get a closer look on the discrepancies. One source for these discrepancies may be the existence of interrelations between the different components of the model which condition the effect of one indicator on the other. This possibility is more than plausible also considering the theoretical model I am using here, which suggests that motivations, only lead to an investment if the subjective success probabilities are high. The next two chapters aim to model these relationships.

7. Extending the Model I: Self-regulation as a Motivation for Ethnic Identification Preferences

The former chapter of this dissertation provided an empirical test of the causal model I proposed for the explanation of ethnic identification preferences among immigrants and their descendents. The chapter presented support for the relations between the different aspects of integration and the process of ethnic identification. However, it failed to capture important and theoretically grounded relationships between the different aspects of integration that may alter these relations.

The subjective expected utility model on which my own theoretical model relies implies that such relationships will be found between the indicators representing the subjective success probabilities and those representing individuals' investment motivations. It assumes that the subjective success probabilities will have an important role shaping the relations between the respondents' motivation to invest, and their eventual investment. Under high subjective success probabilities, motivations are more likely to imply an investment. Under low subjective success probabilities, the likelihood of an investment is predicted to be lower even if the motivation for it exists. The same logic implies that high subjective success probabilities will be more likely to imply an investment when accompanied by high motivations, and less likely to imply it if the investment motivations are low.

This chapter suggests exploring the relations between the respondents investment motivations associated with their need for self-regulation and consistency, and their subjective success probabilities to gain from their investment. The motivations are here defined in terms of the respondents' cultural (language) and social assimilation, and marginalization, as well as the respondents' decreasing commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage. Although theoretically the later indicator was only predicted to be associated with the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, the empirical analysis revealed that it significantly increases their German identification levels. I therefore also include the interaction of this indicator with the measures of the subjective success probabilities to predict the respondents' German identification levels.

The predictors of the respondents' subjective success probabilities I focus on here are the respondents' generational status and the number of years passed since their immigration, as well as the indicators representing the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries.

The operationalization of the different concepts and their measurement were already specified elsewhere. It is however important to stress that in models where one or both of the constitutive terms of the interaction were continuous, I have centered them to the mean. This was done in order to reduce

the risk of biased results due to multicolliniarity. Centering the variables also makes it easier to interpret the marginal effects of the constitutive terms.

7.1 Theoretical propositions

The first relationships I propose are between the respondents' social and cultural assimilation and marginalization, and their generational status, as well as the number of years passed since their immigration. These relationships do not only make sense given the relations they reflect between motivations and subjective success probabilities. They are also closely associated with the proposition of self-categorization theory, according to which, in order for an individual to invest in categorization a combination of normative and comparative fit is needed.

The number of years passed since the respondents' immigration, is understood in my model to imply the respondents' increasing exposure to the German society. It is also predicted to imply a decrease in the importance of their ethnic origin for their everyday lives. It represents a form of general exposure that can increase their comparative fit to the German group and decrease their comparative fit to their ethnic minority.[28] The number of years passed since the respondents' immigration was thus expected to increase their subjective success probabilities to gain from an investment in social mobility.

Increasing the probabilities of the investment to pay off, I expect that with increasing number of years passed since their immigration, the effect of the respondents' cultural and social assimilation on their German and ethnic minority identification levels will become stronger. The same is also predicted for the effect of the respondents' cultural and social marginalization on their German and ethnic minority identification levels. To the contrary, the effect of the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration on their German or ethnic minority identification levels is also predicted to be stronger among individuals who are socially or culturally assimilated or marginalized. Their investment motivations are predicted to be higher, reinforcing the positive investment inclination they may have due to this investment's high subjective success probabilities.

The respondents' generational status is understood to reflect the perceived comparative fit of the respondents to either ethnic category. Specifically, respondents affiliated with the younger generations

[28] This is particularly true if the ethnic minority is characterized by the entry of newcomers in the form of chain migration, which are still cognitively and emotionally attached to the country of origin (Cornell and Hartmann 2007)

are comparatively more similar to the receiving society than to their ethnic minority. Affiliation with both younger generations is therefore predicted to imply a stronger effect of social and cultural assimilation and marginalization on the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. Once again, I also expect that the effects of the respondents' generational status on their ethnic minority and German identification levels will be stronger among culturally and socially assimilated or marginalized respondents.

The positive (negative) effect of decreasing ethnic cultural commitment on the respondents' German (ethnic minority) identification levels is expected to be stronger as the number of years passed since their immigration increases. It is also predicted to be stronger among respondents' affiliation with the younger generation.

The next relationships I propose to explore in this chapter are associated with my efforts to integrate the different social psychological models explaining social identity into one framework. Specifically, I would like to propose that Tajfels' concept of perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries is not relevant only for social mobility that is associated with disadvantaged group membership (Tajfel 1974). Other motivations to social mobility, like uncertainty reduction, or self-regulation, are also challenged by it. In order to test this hypothesis, I explore the intervention of the contextual predictors proposed earlier, in the relations between individuals' social, and cultural integration, and their ethnic identification preferences.

The role of inter-ethnic contact increasing the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries implies that it will magnify the positive effect of cultural or social assimilation or marginalization on the respondents' German identification. It is also expected to magnify their negative effect on the respondents' ethnic minority identification. Perceived discrimination, which decreases the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries, is to the contrary predicted to decrease the expected utilities of the investment, and challenge the positive effects of the respondents' cultural or social assimilation and marginalization on their German identification. It will also moderate their negative (positive) effect on the respondents' ethnic minority (German) identification levels.

Another indicator representing the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries in my theoretical model is the respondents' structural integration. Respondents, with high educational background, or those who are highly educated or enjoy better positions in the labor market, are understood to perceive the inter-group boundaries as more permeable compared to respondents who are less structurally integrated. This chapter therefore also investigates the interactions between the respondents' cultural and social integration patterns, and their structural position.

Respondents, who are socially or language assimilated or marginalized, are predicted to show higher levels of German identification if they additionally hold higher educational degree, or are better situated in the labor market. The same is also true for those with high educational background. The ethnic minority identification levels of respondents, who are culturally and socially assimilated or marginalized, are predicted to be lower if they hold the same properties. As before, decreasing commitment to the cultural heritage among the respondents is understood to represent a similar process to that of language or social marginalization.

Before I present the findings from the empirical analyses, a short description of the data is provided, that is useful for understanding the consequences of the findings, and their limitations. Table 7.1 presents the distribution of the respondents according to the different language and social integration categories, across the indicators they are to be interacted with. The data presented in the table is based on the six-wave sample. As demonstrated in the table, caution is needed when interpreting the relations between generational status and language integration, particularly since I am using separation as the reference category. Social separation is in this regard less problematic, however here, the number of cases in the marginalization category is too small to derive any meaningful conclusions. The table also demonstrates that inter-ethnic contact does not vary much across respondents, regardless of their language or social integration pattern. Its low variance implies relatively small reference groups for the different interaction related comparisons.

Table 7.1: Respondents' distributions across language and social integration categories

	Language integration				Social integration					
	Assimilation	Multiple-inclusion	Separation	Marginal.	Assimilation	Multiple-inclusion	Separation	Marginal	Person-year cases	n
Generational status										
First generation	5.51%	10.39%	25.81%	26.56%	11.52%	16.77%	35.65%	1.35%	7,124	1816
1.5 generation	4.43%	2.17%	0.83%	1.81%	1.89%	3.04%	3.97%	0.04%	959	234
Second generation	13.58%	5.15%	0.71%	1.83%	5.58%	7.33%	6.03%	0.26%	2,208	591
Years passed since immigration (Mean, std.)	22.76 (6.32)	22.55 (8.32)	21.31 (10.11)	23.16 (8.81)	23.90 (8.32)	23.60 (7.53)	22.43 (8.74)	17.81 (9.49)	10291	4359
Inter-ethnic contact										
No	1.43%	0.97%	5.37%	7.99%	0.90%	2.17%	11.14%	0.46%	1,656	871
Yes	22.10%	16.73%	21.97%	22.20%	18.08%	24.97%	34.53%	1.20%	8,635	2523
Discrimination										
No	13.94%	10.40%	14.21%	14.72%	12.43%	14.94%	22.35%	0.91%	5,164	2076
Yes	9.58%	7.31%	13.14%	15.47%	6.56%	12.20%	23.31%	0.74%	4,738	1770
Educational background										
Low	7.73%	5.87%	15.67%	18.41%	6.67%	12.94%	25.54%	0.73%	4,963	1206
Intermediate	8.41%	5.52%	6.72%	5.84%	6.25%	7.19%	10.67%	0.56%	2,765	719
High	6.49%	5.02%	1.86%	1.29%	4.68%	4.55%	4.28%	0.20%	1,528	444
Educational degree										
Basic high school or lower	13.64%	9.73%	21.55%	26.45%	11.11%	19.65%	36.58%	1.14%	7,438	1997
Intermediate vocational or academic	7.18%	5.31%	3.18%	1.83%	5.05%	5.40%	5.73%	0.26%	1,817	635
Post secondary	1.17%	2.00%	1.41%	0.26%	2.12%	1.07%	1.18%	0.05%	504	195
Labor market status										
Not-employed	7.57%	5.76%	12.67%	15.39%	6.25%	9.26%	22.39%	0.69%	4,317	1627
Low status	6.29%	4.36%	10.54%	10.51%	5.30%	9.39%	14.67%	14.67%	3,299	1382
Intermediate status	5.05%	3.67%	2.84%	3.04%	3.35%	5.04%	5.57%	0.27%	1,520	778
High status	4.16%	3.58%	1.06%	0.89%	3.78%	3.04%	2.49%	0.06%	1,008	494
Self-employed	0.39%	0.30%	0.21%	0.30%	0.27%	0.35%	0.48%	0.00%	128	78
Person year cases	3,107	1,822	2,814	2,421	1,954	2,793	4,699	170	-------	4359
n	979	919	1,220	1,227	850	1,174	1,590	104	10291	-------

(source: GSOEP waves 1993-2003; own analysis)

7.2 Findings

Years since immigration:

Table 7.2 presents the models predicting the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels, including the interaction between their *language integration* strategies and the number of years passed since their immigration.[29] Column 1 of table 7.2, shows that contrary to my expectations, the interaction term for the number of years passed since immigration and language assimilation is negative (b=-0.02). Unexpectedly, the model indicates that the relations between bilingualism and years since immigration are also based on moderation, however this effect is smaller (b=-0.01).

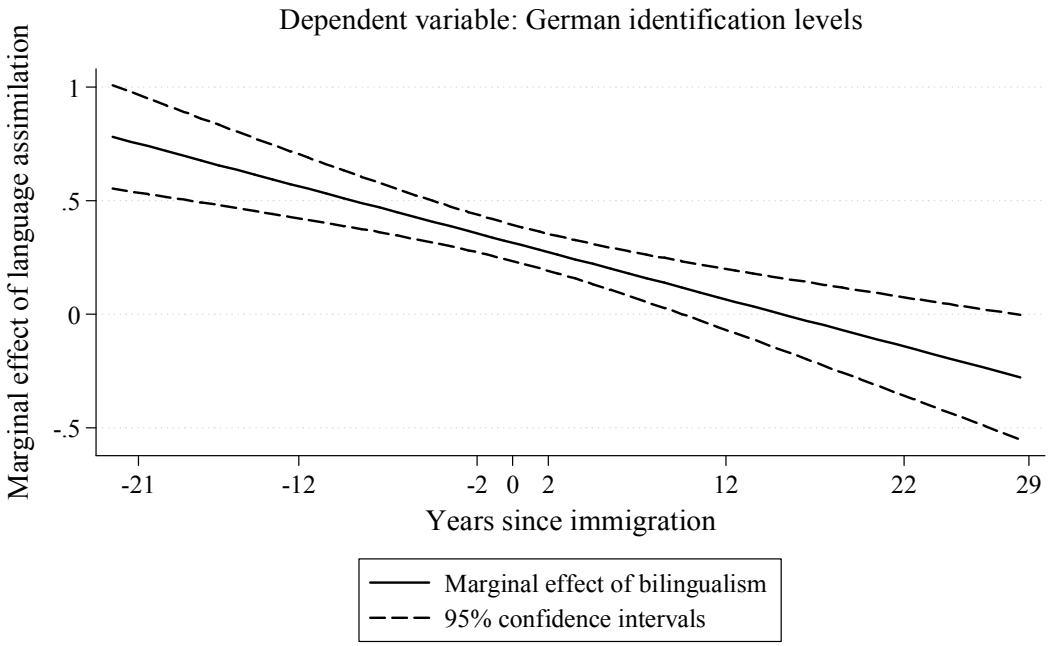
This information is however not instructive enough, as it may be interpreted in more than one way and may have more than one substantive consequence. Thus, following Brambor et al. (2005), I also explored the marginal effects of the language integration strategies of the respondents as the number of years passed since their immigration increases. This test revealed that the positive effect of language assimilation (b=0.31) decreases as the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration increases (see figure 7.1). Like in the basic model discussed in the former chapter, also in the current one, the number of years passed since immigration has no significant effect on the respondents' German identification levels. This effect remains insignificant regardless of the respondents' language integration patterns. The effect of language marginalization on the respondents' German identification levels is not affected by the number of years passed since their immigration.

In figure 7.1 below the indicator for the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration is centered to the mean (22 years) represented by the zero point on the X axis.[30] The left end of the scale describes the levels of German identification among relatively new arrivals. The right end represents individuals who are living in Germany already for 51 years. The effect of language assimilation becomes insignificant at the point of 12 on the centered scale, and thus among respondents' who are already some 34 years passed their immigration. The effect of bilingualism on German identification, has a similar pattern to the one described below.

[29] Table 7.2 only shows the fixed effects for the time varied indicators. The random effects for this and the other tables presented in this chapter are all presented in appendixes 5A to 5I.

[30] Because the measure of years since immigration also considers the age of German born respondents, I ran the same models presented below also for a subsample of first generation immigrants only. I found no meaningful differences between the findings from the first generation only sample and the one discussed here (see appendixes 6A and 6B).

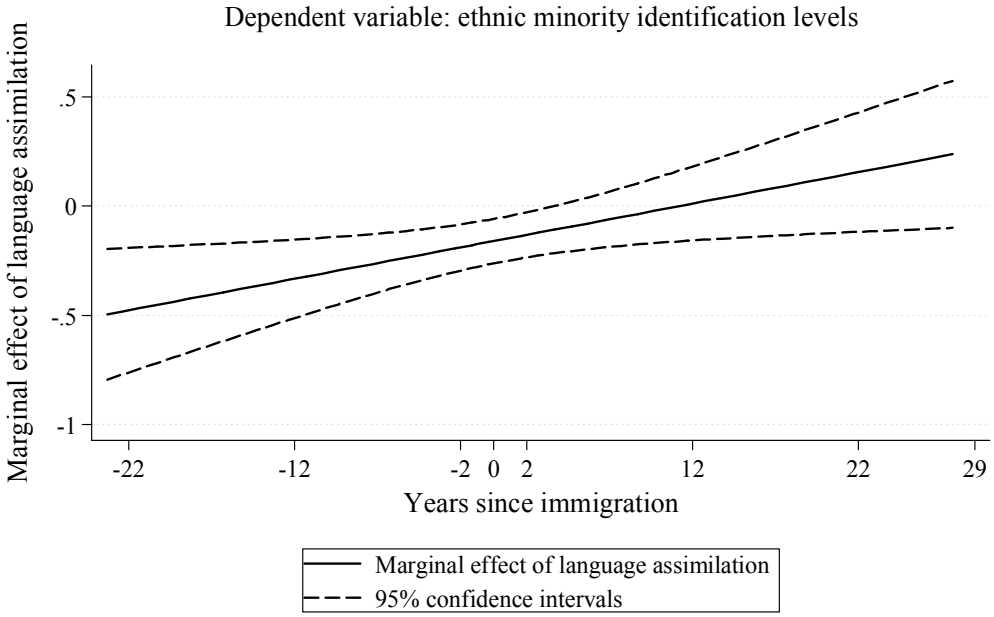
Figure 7.1: Marginal effect of language assimilation on German identification as the years since immigration pass



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The number of years passed since immigration, is also found to intervene in the way language assimilation affects the respondents' ethnic minority identification (b=0.01). Figure 7.2 below presents the effect of language assimilation on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. This effect becomes insignificant among individuals with about 30 years passing since their immigration. This finding implies that as the number of years since immigration pass, the importance of the language skills the respondents acquire for their ethnic minority identification erodes. Rejecting my hypothesis, marginalization does not significantly interact with the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration. As in the basic model, the effect of language assimilation is also here significant and negative (b=-0.16). The effect of the number of years passed since immigration is insignificant whether respondents are language assimilated or marginalized, or otherwise separated.

Figure 7.2: Marginal effect of language assimilation on ethnic minority identification as the years since immigration pass



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Table 7.2: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between years passed since immigration and language integration

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.22***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.11	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.02	(0.01)	-0.04	(0.02)
Turkey	0.12	(0.09)	-0.36***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.21*	(0.08)	-0.32***	(0.08)
East Europe	0.18	(0.11)	-0.48***	(0.10)
South Europe	0.01	(0.08)	-0.03	(0.08)
Other	-0.01	(0.11)	-0.27**	(0.10)
West Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.02	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.08	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.09	(0.11)	0.13	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.07*	(0.03)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.03	(0.05)	-0.11	(0.06)

Table 7.2 continued:

Self-employed	0.20*	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)
Language assimilation	0.31***	(0.04)	-0.16**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.16***	(0.04)	-0.01	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.06*	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.14***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---
1997	0.04	(0.05)	reference	
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.25*	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.23	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)
Years * language ass.	-0.02***	(0.005)	0.01*	(0.006)
Years * language mi	-0.01**	(0.004)	-0.008	(0.005)
Years * language mar.	-0.0004	(0.003)	0.001	(0.004)
_cons	1.08***	(0.21)	4.97***	(0.18)
N	2641		2023	
Person year cases	10291		6365	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The models in which I included the interactions between the respondents' ethnic heritage cultural commitment and the number of years passed since their immigration, did not imply any new findings, not discussed in the former chapter. The same is also true for the models predicting the respondents' German or ethnic minority identification levels with interactions between their social integration and the number of years passed since their immigration.

Generational status

The higher subjective success probabilities to gain a positive and coherent self-concept from ethnic identification, associated with younger generation affiliation are predicted to magnify the positive effect of language and social assimilation or marginalization on the respondents' German identification levels. They are additionally predicted to magnify the negative effect of language and social assimilation or marginalization on their ethnic minority identification.

I start with the respondents' *language related integration* patterns and their interactions with their generational status predicting their German identification levels (see table 7.3 column 1). The significant interaction term (b=0.34) indicates that language assimilation has a stronger effect on the

respondents' German identification if they are affiliated with the 1.5 generation than if they are affiliated with the first immigrant generation (b=0.56 and 0.22 respectively). It also implies that among respondents of the 1.5 generation, only those who are language assimilated, show significantly higher levels of German identification compared with first generation immigrants. The effect of language assimilation does not differ between second and first generation respondents.

With regard to the respondents' ethnic minority identification, I first find that affiliation with the 1.5 generation further decreases it among respondents whose language skills in their mother tongue and in German decrease in the course of their integration (b=-0.38). The interaction implies, that among these language marginalized respondents, their ethnic minority identification levels decrease more strongly if they are affiliated with the 1.5 generation (b=-0.46 and -0.08 respectively).

The later model additionally indicates that once the interaction terms are included, both generation indicators no longer significantly shape the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. Thus, among respondents affiliated with the 1.5 generation, only those demonstrating language marginalization show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with first generation immigrants. Among respondents affiliated with the second generation, no such differences are found.

Table 7.3: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between the respondents' language integration and generational status

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.13	(0.23)	0.21	(0.21)
1.5 generation	-0.06	(0.21)	0.11	(0.22)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	0.14	(0.09)	-0.36***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.23**	(0.08)	-0.33***	(0.08)
East Europe	0.19	(0.10)	-0.46***	(0.10)
South Europe	0.03	(0.08)	-0.03	(0.08)
Other	-0.02	(0.11)	-0.24*	(0.10)
West Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.01	(0.05)	0.12*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.14	(0.11)	0.15	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	0.007	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.21*	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)

Table 7.3 continued:

Language assimilation	0.22***	(0.06)	-0.14*	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.15***	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.05)
Language separation	reference			
Language marginalization	0.06	(0.03)	-0.08*	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.01	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---
1997	0.05	(0.05)		
1999	0.13	(0.08)	0.02	(0.05)
2001	0.26**	(0.10)	-0.02	(0.08)
2003	0.24	(0.12)	0.06	(0.12)
1.5 * language ass.	0.34*	(0.14)	-0.31	(0.18)
1.5 * language mi.	0.10	(0.14)	-0.09	(0.18)
1.5 language mar.	0.04	(0.13)	-0.38*	(0.17)
Second * language ass.	0.11	(0.12)	0.06	(0.17)
Second * language mi.	0.01	(0.12)	0.07	(0.16)
Second * language mar.	0.11	(0.12)	-0.08	(0.16)
_cons	0.80***	(0.22)	5.06***	(0.19)
N	2641		2023	
Person year cases	10291		6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The models estimating the potential contribution of the interaction between respondents' *ethnic heritage cultural commitment* and their generational status did not reveal any new information about the respondents' German or ethnic minority identification levels. The same also applies for the models predicting the respondents German and ethnic minority identification levels using the interactions between their generational status and their *social integration*.

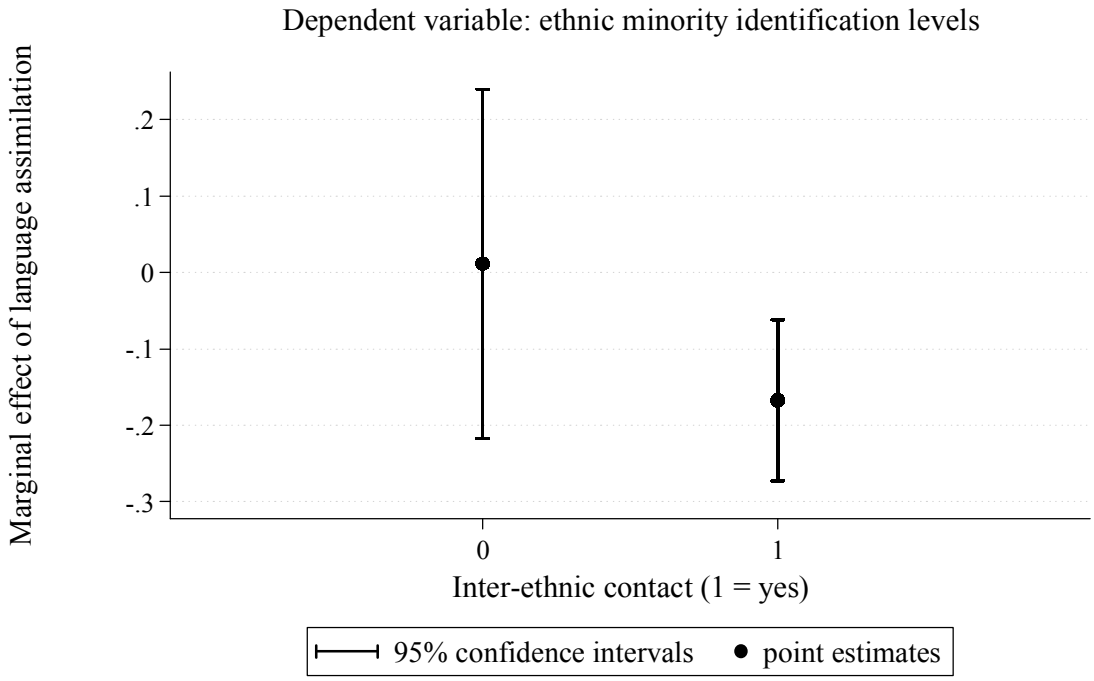
Inter-ethnic contact

The inclusion of the interactions between the *language integration* indicators and inter-ethnic contact predicting the respondents' German identification levels conveyed the following results: as in the basic model here too, inter-ethnic contact was found to increase the respondents' German identification levels (b=0.23). As for the language integration indicators, while language assimilation and bilingualism were found to have similar positive effects to those found in the basic model (b=0.29 and 0.37 respectively), language marginalization is here no longer significant (table 7.4 column 1).

Of the interactions effects included in the model, only the one between inter-ethnic contact and language multiple inclusion was significant (b=-0.24). This finding suggests that among bilingual respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact, German identification levels are lower than among those of them who do not maintain it. Contrary to my expectations, inter-ethnic contact moderates and not magnifies the effect of language multiple-inclusion on the respondents' German identification levels. The direction of the interaction term for inter-ethnic contact and language assimilation is as expected positive. It is, however, very small. Language marginalization was not found to have a significant effect on the respondents' German identification levels whether they do or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact.

Predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, the interaction terms were all insignificant (see table 7.4). Additionally, once including the interaction terms, the coefficients for inter-ethnic contact, and language assimilation and marginalization, which were significant and negative in the basic model, are no longer significant. Modeling the marginal effect of language assimilation for respondents who do or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact I find that only among the former the effect is significant, decreasing their ethnic minority identification levels (see figure 7.3). The same was also true for language marginalization (b=-0.11).

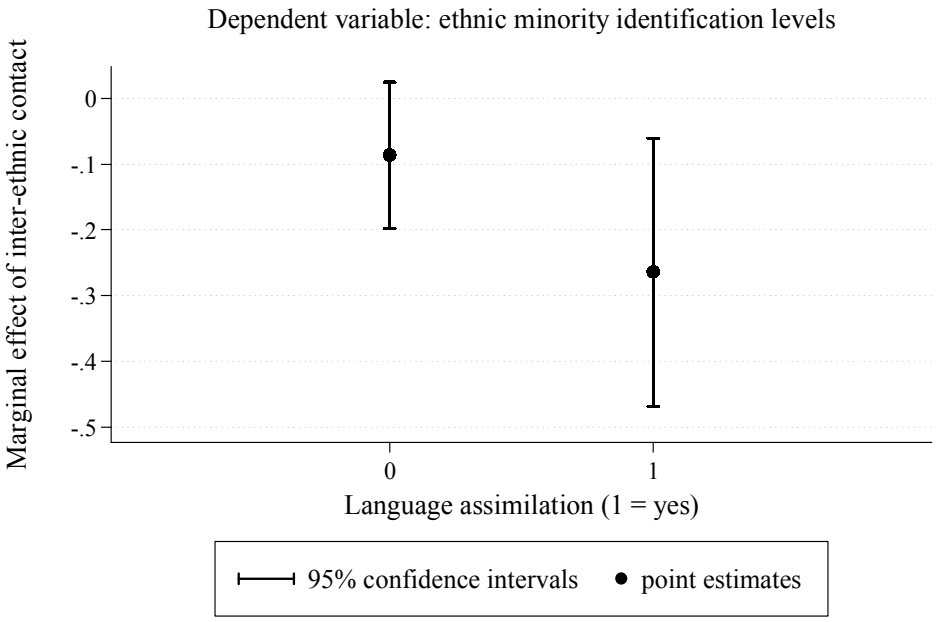
Figure 7.3: Marginal effect of language assimilation on ethnic minority identification among respondents who do or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Exploring the marginal effects of inter-ethnic contact I find that it decreases the respondents' ethnic identification levels among those who are either language assimilated or marginalized. The similar effects of language assimilation and marginalization imply that it is the decreasing skills in the respondents' mother tongue which are primarily associated with their decreasing ethnic minority identification. Figure 7.4 demonstrates the effect for language assimilation.

Figure 7.4: Marginal effect of inter-ethnic contact on ethnic minority identification among respondents who are or are not language assimilated



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Table 7.4: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from the models including the interactions between language and social integration and inter-ethnic contact

	German identification levels				Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration		Language integration		Social integration	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference		reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.06	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.11	(0.06)	-0.10	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	0.12	(0.09)	0.13	(0.09)	-0.36***	(0.08)	-0.36***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.21*	(0.08)	0.21*	(0.08)	-0.32***	(0.08)	-0.32***	(0.08)
East Europe	0.17	(0.10)	0.17	(0.10)	-0.47***	(0.10)	-0.47***	(0.10)
South Europe	0.01	(0.08)	0.01	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.08)
Other	-0.03	(0.11)	-0.02	(0.11)	-0.25*	(0.10)	-0.25*	(0.10)
West Europe	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)	0.06	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.01	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)

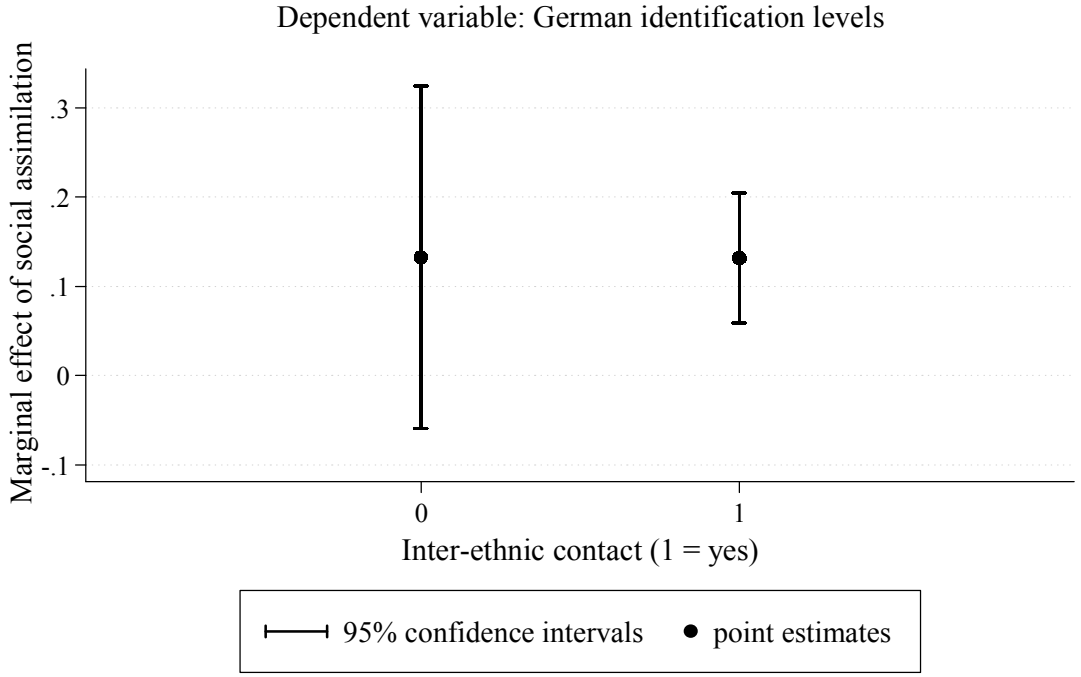
Table 7.4 continued

Educational degree (low)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.09*	(0.05)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.13	(0.11)	-0.13	(0.11)	0.15	(0.13)	0.15	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	-0.06*	(0.03)	0.01	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.20	(0.10)	0.20*	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)	-0.41	(0.24)
Language assimilation	0.29***	(0.09)	0.30***	(0.04)	0.01	(0.12)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.37***	(0.10)	0.15***	(0.04)	-0.11	(0.12)	-0.01	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.09	(0.05)	0.07*	(0.03)	-0.07	(0.07)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	0.13	(0.10)	-0.02	(0.05)	0.15	(0.11)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	0.08	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.10	(0.10)
Social separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	0.13	(0.18)	-0.37*	(0.15)	-0.45	(0.28)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.23***	(0.04)	0.20***	(0.03)	-0.09	(0.06)	-0.10*	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference		---	---	---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---	---	---
1997	0.05	(0.05)	0.05	(0.05)	reference		reference	
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.12	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.25*	(0.10)	0.26*	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.08)
2003	0.23	(0.12)	0.24	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)	0.06	(0.12)
Cont. * language/social ass.	0.004	(0.09)	-0.001	(0.10)	-0.18	(0.12)	-0.19	(0.11)
Cont. * language/social mi.	-0.24*	(0.10)	-0.04	(0.07)	0.10	(0.12)	0.04	(0.10)
Cont. * language/social mar.	-0.04	(0.06)	-0.13	(0.19)	-0.04	(0.07)	0.10	(0.29)
_cons	0.79***	(0.23)	0.79***	(0.22)	5.12***	(0.20)	5.11***	(0.19)
N	2641				2023			
Person year cases	10291				6356			

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Moving on to the relations between *social assimilation* and inter-ethnic contact, findings presented in table 7.4 above suggest that the interactions are insignificant when predicting the respondents' German identification levels. The effect of social assimilation that was positive and significant in the basic model is here also insignificant. The positive effect of inter-ethnic contact is still maintained (b=0.20). Looking into the marginal effect of social assimilation conditioned upon inter-ethnic contact (see figure 7.5), I find that social assimilation significantly increases the respondents' levels of German identification only if they maintain inter-ethnic contact (b=0.13). The large confidence intervals among respondents who do not maintain inter-ethnic contact are most likely a result of their small number in the sample.

Figure 7.5: Marginal effect of social assimilation on German identification among respondents who do or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact

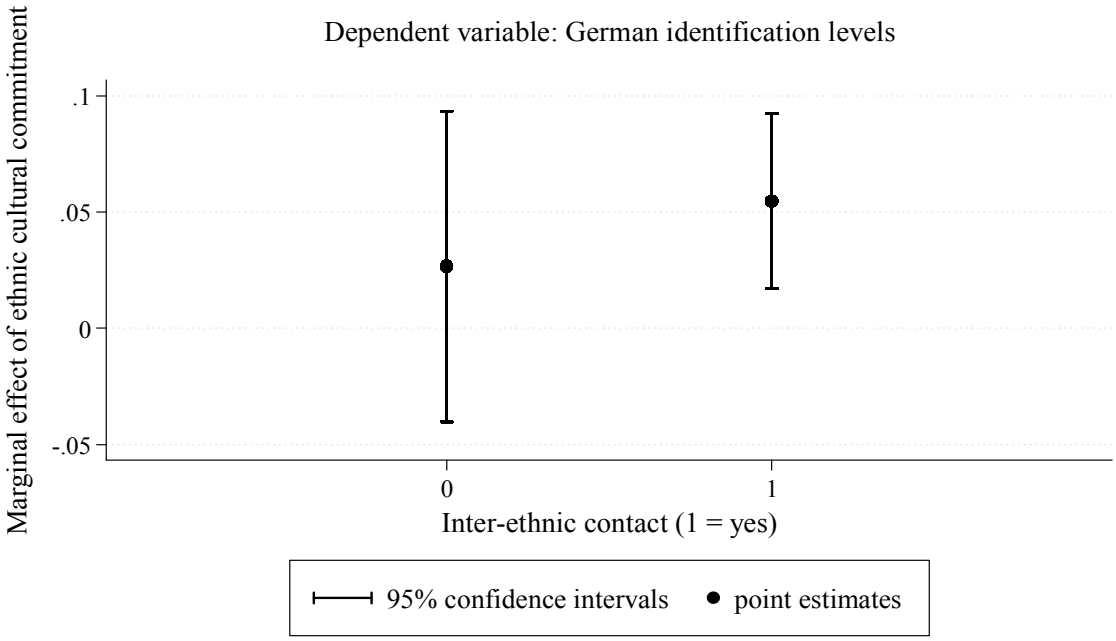


(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

In the model predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, the interaction terms between the respondents' social integration patterns and their inter-ethnic contact maintenance were also insignificant (see table 7.4 above). Supporting my hypothesis, the direction of the interaction term between inter-ethnic contact and social assimilation is negative. This is however not the case for its interaction with social marginalization. Once these interactions are included in the model, social marginalization is found to exert no significant effect on the respondents' ethnic minority identification. There are, however, too few respondents in this category to allow its further exploration. Inter-ethnic contact still exerts a significant negative effect on the respondents' ethnic minority identification (b= -0.10).

Predicting the respondents' German identification levels, I find additionally, that the effect of their decreasing ethnic cultural commitment on them is only significant among those individuals who maintain inter-ethnic contact (see figure 7.6). The findings indicate no meaningful contribution of the interaction between the respondents' ethnic cultural commitment and their inter-ethnic contact predicting the their levels of ethnic minority identification

Figure 7.6: Marginal effect of ethnic cultural commitment on German identification among respondents who do or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Table 7.5: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between decreasing ethnic cultural commitment and inter-ethnic contact predicting German identification

	German identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)
Male	reference	
First generation	reference	
Second generation	-0.05	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)
Turkey	0.13	(0.09)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.21*	(0.08)
East Europe	0.17	(0.10)
South Europe	0.01	(0.08)
Other	-0.03	(0.11)
West Europe	reference	
Educational background (low)	reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)
Educational background (high)	0.01	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.13	(0.11)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)
Low labor market status	reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)

Table 7.5 continued:

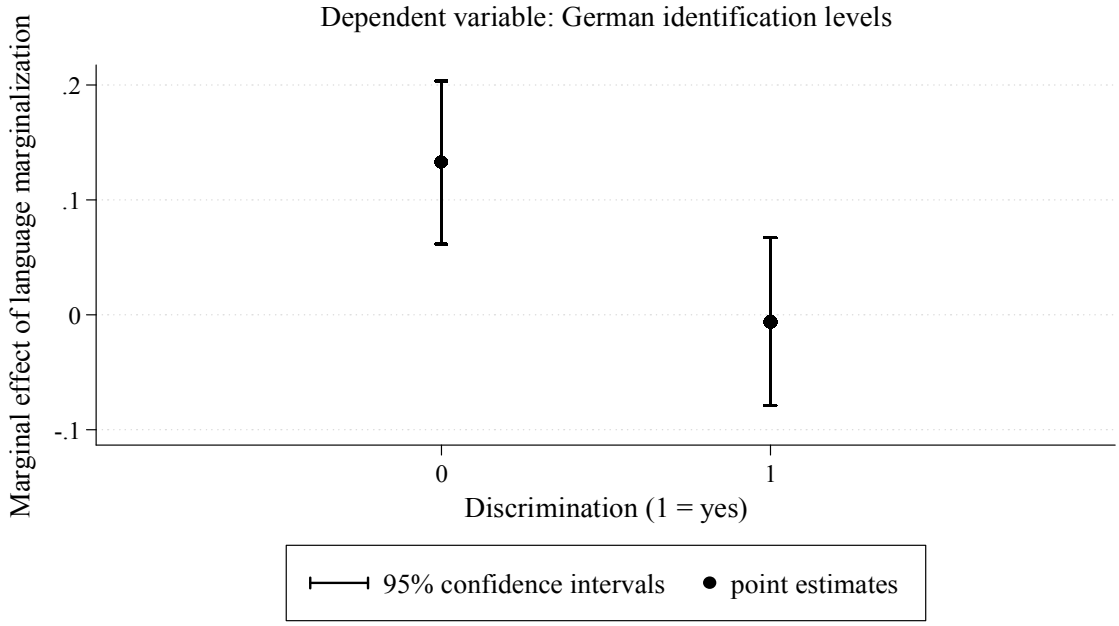
High labor market status	0.01	(0.04)
Self-employed	0.20*	(0.10)
Language assimilation	0.30***	(0.04)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.15***	(0.04)
Language separation	reference	
Language marginalization	0.06*	(0.03)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.03	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)
Social separation	reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.10)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.20***	(0.03)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)
Discrimination (no)	reference	
1993	reference	
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)
1997	0.05	(0.05)
1999	0.12	(0.08)
2001	0.26*	(0.10)
2003	0.24	(0.12)
Decreasing ethnic cultural commitment* inter-ethnic contact	0.03	(0.03)
_cons	1.82***	(0.21)
N	2641	
Person year cases	10291	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The inclusion of the interaction between respondents' language integration and their *discrimination experiences* predicting their German identification levels conveyed the following results: first, the interaction term for language marginalization and discrimination, was negative and significant (b=-0.14). Secondly, the effects of language assimilation as well as bilingualism and marginalization remain similar to those found in the basic model (b=0.32, 0.18, and 0.13 respectively). Thirdly, once the interaction terms were included, discrimination no longer significantly decreases the respondents' German identification levels (see table 7.6).

In order to understand the meaning of these findings, I explored the marginal effects of language marginalization for respondents who do or do not report to have been discriminated against. As demonstrated in figure 7.7 the findings indicate that language marginalization only increases the respondents' German identification levels among respondents who were not discriminated against.

Figure 7.7: Marginal effect of language marginalization on German identification among respondents who did or did not report to experience discrimination



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, the interaction terms were all insignificant. The effect of discrimination was found to be insignificant, as it was also in the basic model, whereas that of language assimilation and marginalization were, also in accordance with the basic model, negative and significant (b=-0.12 and -0.10 respectively). Looking at the directions of the interaction terms I cannot find confirmation for my hypotheses. They suggest that discrimination magnifies and not moderates the negative effect of language assimilation and marginalization on the respondents' ethnic identification levels.

I did not find any meaningful outcomes for the interaction between the respondents' ethnic *cultural commitment* and discrimination predicting the respondents' levels of German or ethnic minority identification. Social integration was also not found to imply different outcomes to the respondents' German or ethnic minority identification levels, whether respondents were discriminated against or not.

Table 7.6: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between the respondents' language and discrimination

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.10	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	0.15	(0.09)	-0.35***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.23**	(0.08)	-0.31***	(0.08)
East Europe	0.19	(0.10)	-0.45***	(0.10)
South Europe	0.03	(0.08)	-0.009	(0.08)
Other	-0.004	(0.11)	-0.23*	(0.10)
West Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.07	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.01	(0.05)	0.12*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int. - high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.13	(0.11)	0.14	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.20	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)
Language assimilation	0.32***	(0.05)	-0.12*	(0.06)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	-0.03	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.10*	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	0.007	(0.04)	0.004	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---
1997	0.05	(0.05)	reference	
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.26**	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.24	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)
Disc. * Language assimilation	-0.03	(0.06)	-0.08	(0.07)
Disc. *Language multiple-inclusion	-0.08	(0.06)	0.06	(0.07)
Disc. * Language marginalization	-0.14**	(0.05)	-0.02	(0.06)
_cons	0.79***	(0.22)	5.11***	(0.19)
N	2641		2023	
Person year cases	10291		6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Generally, the models above suggest only partial evidence for the relationships I expected to find between the intergroup context and the respondents' cultural and social integration. I could find some indication that inter-ethnic contact magnifies the effects of language assimilation on the respondents' ethnic minority identification and social assimilation on their German identification, and sometimes also serves as a necessary condition for these effects to be found. However, given the low variance among the respondents in terms of their inter-ethnic contact maintenance this finding is hardly surprising. This later explanation, is strengthen by the fact that discrimination experiences, distributed more equally among the respondents, was less often a necessary condition for assimilation to work.

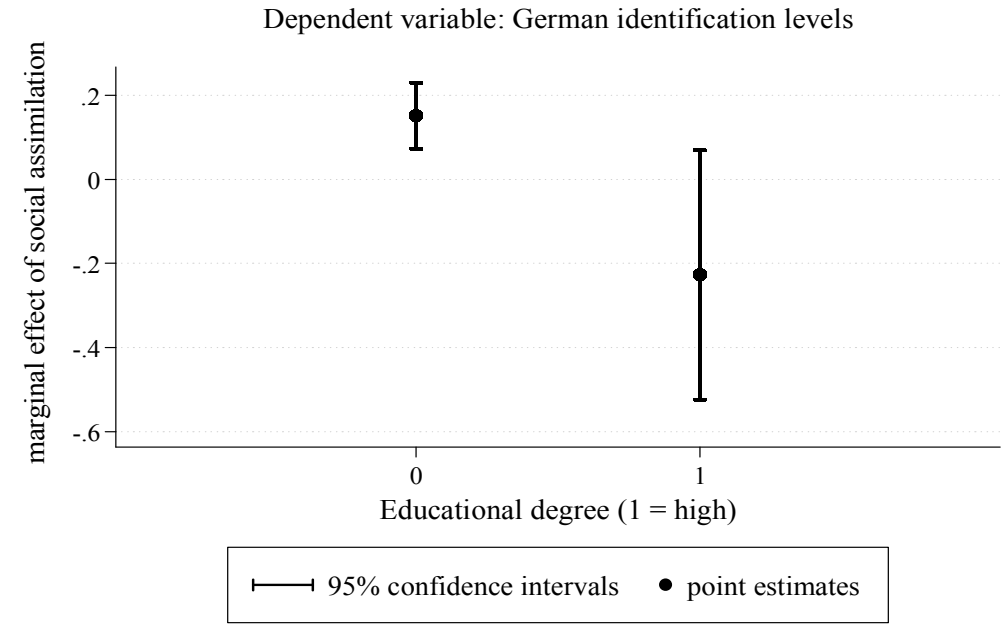
Structural integration

Finally, I also looked into the effects of the interactions between the respondents' cultural and social integration, and their structural integration. Predicting the respondents' German identification levels, most of the models yielded no new information. Moreover, they did not indicate clear patterns supporting my hypotheses that structural integration serves as an indicator for the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries.

More specifically, I did not find any indication for an interaction between the respondents' educational background and their social or language integration patterns. The respondents' educational degree is however found to intervene in the effect of their language integration patterns on their German identification levels. Specifically, among respondents demonstrating language assimilation or marginalization, higher educational degree magnifies the positive effect of these patterns on their German identification levels. The interaction term is significant only for language marginalization. The model thus suggests that language marginalization only contributes to the respondents' German identification levels if they are highly educated (b=0.67). There are however only very few respondents in the sample who actually apply to both requirements (27 person cases).

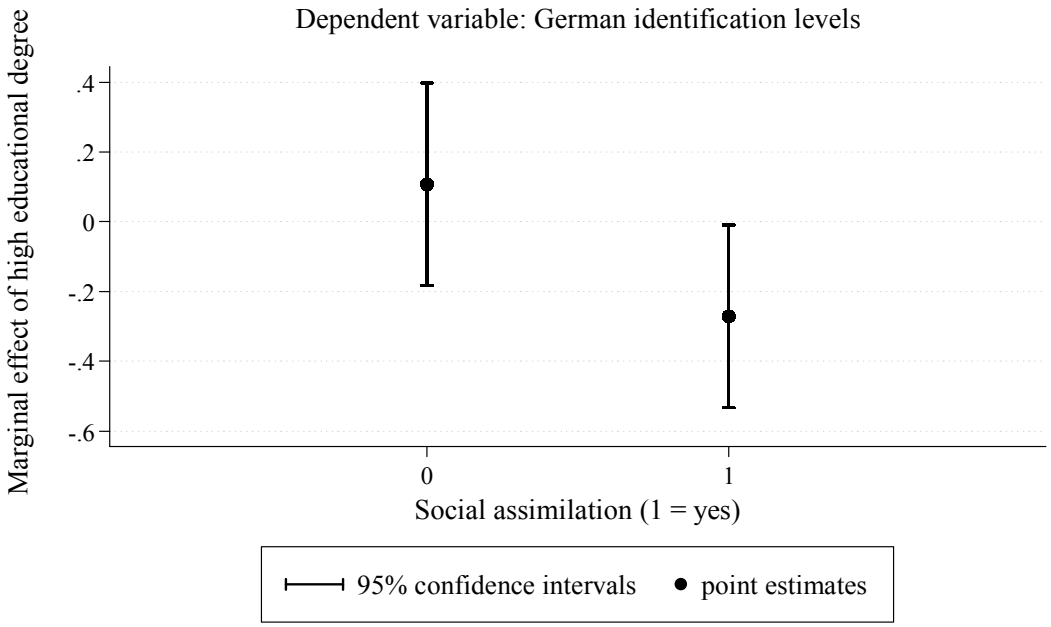
Rejecting my hypothesis regarding the relations between social assimilation and educational degree the findings indicate that high educational degree moderates the positive effect of social assimilation (b=-0.38). Among respondents whose social networks were predicted to promote their social mobility investment, their relatively better structural position, acts to decrease their investment prospects (see table 7.7). Exploring the marginal effect of social assimilation, I find that it only has a significant and positive effect on the respondents' German identification levels if the respondents do not have a high educational degree (see figure 7.8). I also find that the marginal effect of the respondents' educational degree on their German identification levels is only significant among respondents who are socially assimilated. Rejecting my hypothesis, this effect is negative (see figure 7.9).

Figure 7.8: Marginal effect of language assimilation on German identification among respondents who are or are not highly educated



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Figure 7.9: Marginal effect of educational degree on German identification among respondents who are or are not socially assimilated



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Table 7.7: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between respondents' language and social integration and educational degree predicting German identification

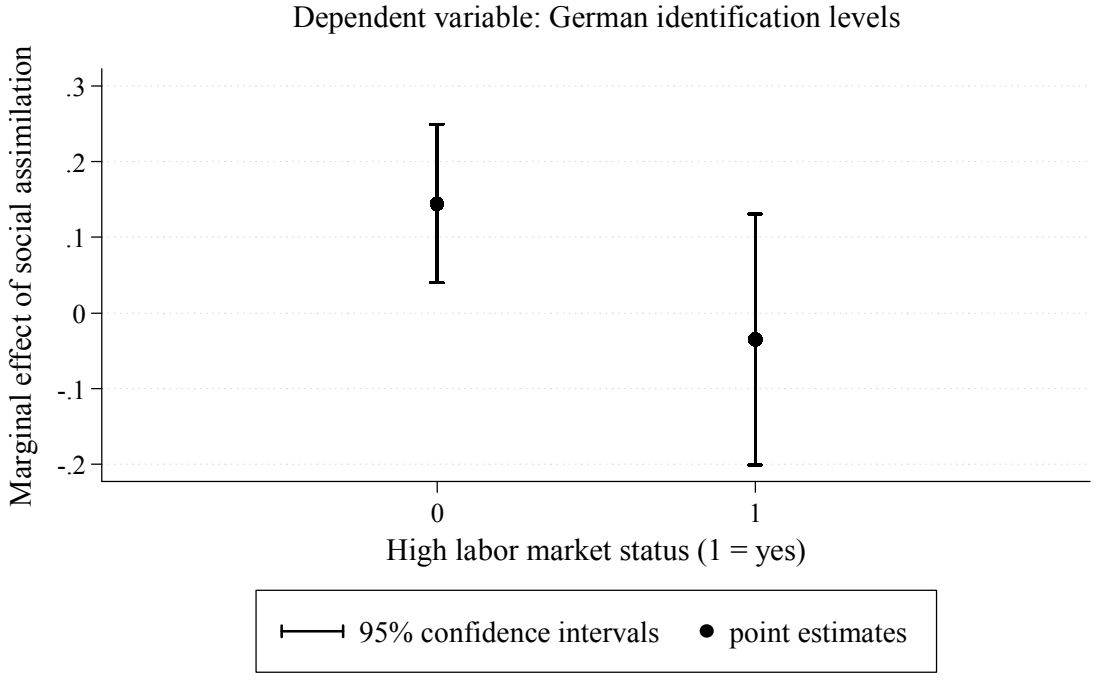
	German identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.06	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.06	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Turkey	0.10	(0.09)	0.12	(0.09)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.19*	(0.08)	0.21*	(0.09)
East Europe	0.14	(0.11)	0.16	(0.11)
South Europe	-0.01	(0.09)	0.004	(0.08)
Other	-0.06	(0.11)	-0.05	(0.11)
West Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)	0.07	(0.03)
Educational background (high)	0.01	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.17*	(0.07)	-0.08	(0.06)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.12	(0.17)	0.11	(0.15)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	-0.06*	(0.03)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)
High labor market status	0.02	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)
Self-employed	0.20*	(0.10)	0.20*	(0.10)
Language assimilation	0.29***	(0.04)	0.30***	(0.04)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.14***	(0.04)	0.15***	(0.04)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.05	(0.03)	0.07*	(0.03)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	0.05**	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	0.15***	(0.04)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	0.06*	(0.03)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.02	(0.10)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	0.19***	(0.03)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.05*	(0.02)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	-0.07*	(0.03)
1997	0.05	(0.05)	0.05	(0.05)
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.13	(0.08)
2001	0.25*	(0.10)	0.27**	(0.10)
2003	0.23	(0.12)	0.25*	(0.12)
Language/social ass. * Ed (inter.)	0.11	(0.09)	-0.03	(0.08)
Language/social mi* Ed (inter.)	0.08	(0.09)	-0.06	(0.07)
Language/social mar. * Ed (inter.)	0.05	(0.10)	0.25	(0.24)
Language/social ass. * Ed (high)	0.01	(0.18)	-0.38*	(0.16)
Language/social mi. * Ed (high)	-0.04	(0.15)	-0.30	(0.15)
Language/social mar. * Ed (high)	0.62*	(0.26)	0.05	(0.6)
_cons	0.82***	(0.22)	0.81***	(0.22)
N	2641		2641	
Person year cases	10291		10291	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The interactions between the respondents' labor market status and their language integration indicators were all insignificant (see table 7.8). Unlike the basic model, in this model, language marginalization was not found to exert a significant effect on the respondents' German identification regardless of their labor market status. The directions of the interaction terms suggest that language assimilated respondents, in non-employment show higher and not lower levels of German identification. To the contrary, individuals whose labor market status improved show lower levels of German identification.

The interactions between social integration and the respondents' labor market status do not support my hypothesis regarding the respondents' German identification levels. They imply that respondents with mixed friendships show higher levels of German identification if they are not employed (b=0.11). The direction of the interaction between social assimilation and non-employment is the same, but the interaction is not significant. The findings also suggest that these individuals demonstrate lower levels of German identification if they enjoy high labor market status (b=-0.19). An exploration of the marginal effects implied in both interaction effects demonstrated that these effects were insignificant (see figure 7.10 for the later interaction).

Figure 7.10: Marginal effect of social assimilation on German identification among respondents holding high or low labor market status



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Table 7.8: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between language and social integration and labor market status predicting German identification

	German identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.06	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.06	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Turkey	0.12	(0.09)	0.12	(0.09)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.21*	(0.09)	0.20*	(0.08)
East Europe	0.17	(0.12)	0.14	(0.11)
South Europe	0.004	(0.09)	0.003	(0.08)
Other	-0.04	(0.11)	-0.04	(0.11)
West Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.04)	0.06	(0.03)
Educational background (high)	0.007	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	-0.10*	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.11	(0.11)	-0.13	(0.11)
Not-employed	-0.08	(0.05)	-0.10**	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.05	(0.06)	0.04	(0.05)
High labor market status	0.08	(0.10)	0.13	(0.07)
Self-employed	0.33	(0.20)	0.24	(0.13)
Language assimilation	0.31***	(0.06)	0.30***	(0.04)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.17**	(0.06)	0.15***	(0.04)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.04	(0.04)	0.06*	(0.03)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	0.05**	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	0.14**	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	0.04	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	0.18	(0.13)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	0.19***	(0.03)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.06*	(0.02)	-0.05*	(0.02)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	-0.07*	(0.03)
1997	0.05	(0.05)	0.05	(0.05)
1999	0.13	(0.08)	0.12	(0.08)
2001	0.26**	(0.10)	0.26**	(0.10)
2003	0.24	(0.12)	0.24	(0.12)
Not employed * Language/social ass.	0.05	(0.07)	0.04	(0.07)
Not employed *Language/social mi.	-0.02	(0.07)	0.11*	(0.05)
Not employed * Language/social mar.	0.009	(0.05)	-0.23	(0.18)
Inter. status * Language/social ass.	0.02	(0.08)	-0.07	(0.08)
Inter. status * Language/social mi.	-0.05	(0.09)	-0.08	(0.07)
Inter. status * Language/social mi.	0.15	(0.08)	-0.40	(0.22)
High status * Language/social ass	-0.12	(0.12)	-0.18	(0.10)
High status * Language/social mi.	-0.04	(0.12)	-0.19*	(0.09)
High status * Language/social mar.	-0.02	(0.14)	-0.08	(0.38)
Self-empl. * Language/social ass.	-0.13	(0.27)	-0.12	(0.21)

Table 7.8 continued:

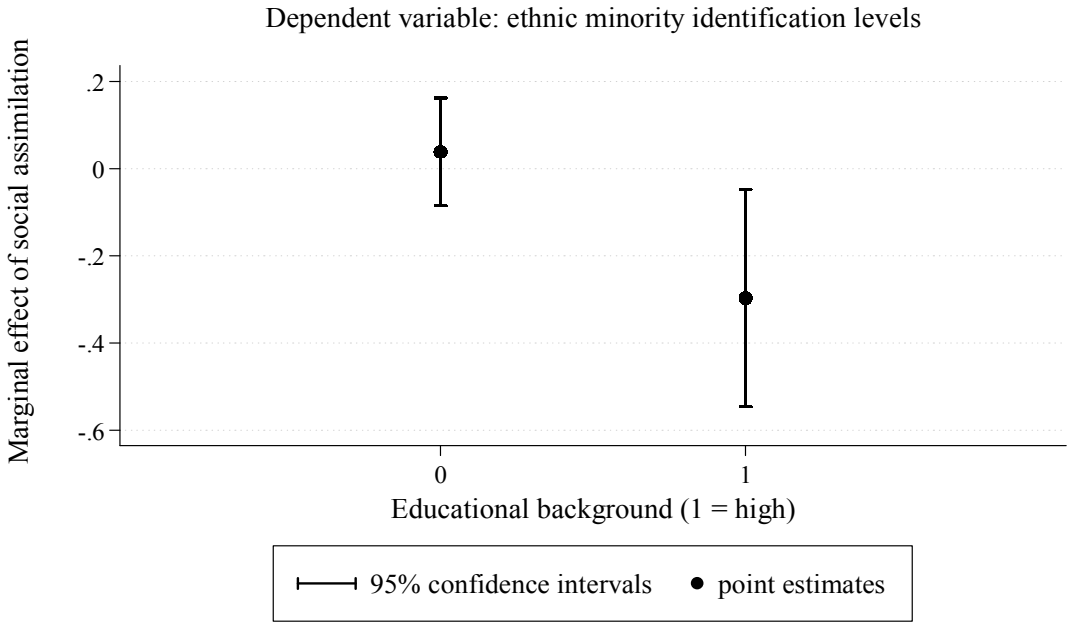
Self-empl. * Language/social mi.	-0.21	(0.25)	-0.067	(0.20)
Self-empl. * Language/social mar.	-0.13	(0.25)	---	---
_cons	0.85***	(0.22)	0.79***	(0.22)
N	2641		2641	
Person year cases	10291		10291	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Predicting the respondents' levels of identification with their ethnic minority, most of the interactions between their structural integration and their social and language integration did not provide new information. Table 7.9 presents the findings from the model including the interactions between the respondents' educational background and their language and social integration. The interaction between intermediate educational background and bilingualism was significant and positive implying that bilingual respondents show higher levels of ethnic minority identification if they have intermediate educational background (b=0.23). Modeling the marginal effect of bilingualism for respondents with intermediate educational background I found that this effect is insignificant.

The interaction between the respondents' social assimilation and high educational background, was significant and negative (b=-0.33). In line with my hypothesis, the higher success probabilities of respondents who enjoy a better structural position in the receiving society encourage them to dissociate from their ethnic minority on their identification with it (see figure 7.11).

Figure 7.11: Marginal effect of social assimilation on ethnic minority identification among respondents with high or low educational background



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

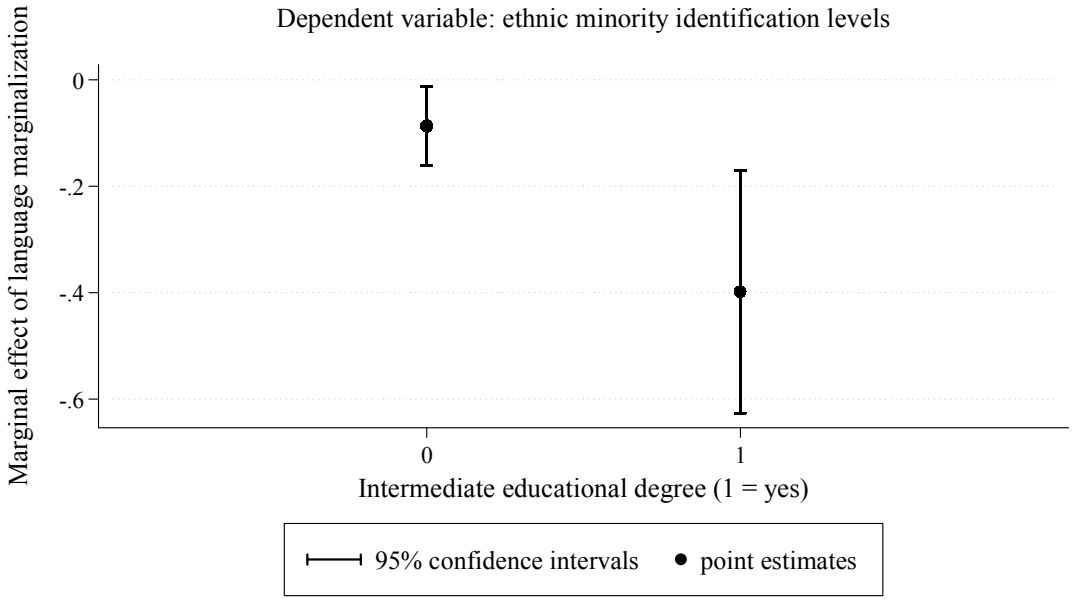
Table 7.9: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between language and social integration and educational background predicting ethnic minority identification

	Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Female	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.20***	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.09	(0.06)	-0.11	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	-0.37***	(0.08)	-0.36***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	-0.33***	(0.08)	-0.32***	(0.08)
East Europe	-0.49***	(0.10)	-0.47***	(0.10)
South Europe	-0.02	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.08)
Other	-0.27**	(0.10)	-0.25*	(0.10)
West Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.04	(0.07)	-0.05	(0.05)
Educational background (high)	0.31**	(0.12)	0.13	(0.07)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	0.03	(0.05)	0.02	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.15	(0.13)	0.14	(0.13)
Not-employed	0.008	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	-0.10	(0.06)	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	-0.41	(0.25)	-0.46	(0.25)
Language assimilation	-0.23**	(0.07)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.006	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.11**	(0.04)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	-0.02	(0.05)	0.04	(0.06)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.08	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.37*	(0.15)	-0.13	(0.25)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	-0.11**	(0.04)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1997	reference		reference	
1999	0.03	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	-0.01	(0.08)	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.07	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)
Language/social ass. * Eb (inter.)	0.19	(0.12)	-0.04	(0.11)
Language/social mi* Eb (inter.)	0.23*	(0.11)	0.05	(0.09)
Language/social mar. * Eb (inter.)	0.05	(0.08)	-0.34	(0.32)
Language/social ass. * Eb(high)	0.06	(0.16)	-0.33*	(0.14)
Language/social mi. * Eb (high)	0.10	(0.15)	-0.02	(0.11)
Language/social mar. * Eb (high)	-0.16	(0.16)	-0.48	(0.47)
_cons	5.07***	(0.19)	5.10***	(0.19)
N	2023		2023	
Person year cases	6356		6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

My hypothesis regarding the respondents' *educational degree* and their language integration patterns was partially supported by the data. Specifically, as demonstrated in table 7.10, the interaction between language marginalization and intermediate education, was significant and negative (b=-0.31). The negative effect of language marginalization is thus magnified among respondents with an intermediate educational degree (see figure 7.12). The same pattern is also found for the interaction between language marginalization and high educational degree however, this coefficient is insignificant. Social assimilation was not found to have a significant effect on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels regardless of their educational degree. The same is also true for the respondents' commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage.

Figure 7.12: Marginal effect of language marginalization on ethnic minority identification among respondents holding an intermediate or low educational degree



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

I could not identify a clear pattern of relations between the respondents' labor market status and their social or language related integration predicting their ethnic minority identification levels.

Table 7.10: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between language integration and educational degree predicting ethnic minority identification

	Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference	
First generation	reference	
Second generation	-0.20***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.10	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	-0.03	(0.02)

Table 7.10 continued:

Turkey	-0.38***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	-0.34***	(0.08)
East Europe	-0.46***	(0.10)
South Europe	-0.04	(0.08)
Other	-0.25*	(0.10)
West Europe	reference	
Educational background (low)	reference	
Educational background (int.)	-0.02	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.12*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	0.13	(0.08)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.06	(0.19)
Not-employed	0.009	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	-0.41	(0.25)
Language assimilation	-0.15*	(0.06)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.04	(0.05)
Language separation	reference	
Language marginalization	-0.09*	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference	
Social marginalization	-0.35*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.008	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference	
1997	reference	
1999	0.03	(0.05)
2001	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.07	(0.12)
Language assimilation. * Ed (inter.-high)	-0.13	(0.11)
Language multiple inclusion* Ed (inter.-high)	-0.01	(0.11)
Language marginalization * Ed (inter.-high)	-0.31**	(0.12)
Language assimilation. * Ed (post sec.)	0.25	(0.22)
Language multiple inclusion* Ed (post sec.)	0.28	(0.17)
Language marginalization * Ed (post sec.)	-0.06	(0.28)
_cons	5.14***	(0.19)
N	2023	
Person year cases	6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

7.3 Summary

This chapter aimed to test whether the effects of self-regulation, motivated through specific patterns of social and cultural integration, on the respondents' ethnic identification related investment strategies are shaped by different indicators of their subjective successes probabilities. Specifically, the high subjective success probabilities expected from an investment were predicted to magnify the positive (negative) effects of the respondents' social and cultural assimilation or marginalization on their German (ethnic minority) identification levels. I additionally predicted that low subjective success probabilities will moderate their positive (negative) effects.

The findings above present a complex picture. The exposure related indicators suggest that as the years since the respondents' immigration pass, the positive effect of social as well as language assimilation on their German identification levels decreases, and not increases. A similar process was also found for the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. A possible explanation for these findings may be that the relations between social and language integration and the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration are based on a different process altogether, namely one of learning.

Based on this logic, language and social assimilation which represent the efficiency of the exposure to the learned skill become less important as exposure increases. Once enough time passes, individuals who do or do not speak German well, no longer differ from one another in their German or ethnic identification levels. This process does not question the application of a subjective excepted utility model to ethnic identification. It does suggest that social and language integration does not represent motivational components but rather another form of subjective success probabilities.

In line with my hypothesis, respondents affiliated with the younger generations, who are language assimilated show higher levels of German identification. This is particularly the case among respondents of the 1.5 generation. These individuals also experience increased dissociation from their ethnic minority. This generational status therefore magnifies the effect of the need for self-regulation.

Also supporting my predictions, inter-ethnic contact is found to be a necessary condition for respondents who are language or socially assimilated or marginalized to dissociate from their ethnic minority. This finding, speaks for the importance of inter-ethnic contact in the process of emotional integration. Specifically it implies that inter-ethnic contact plays a central role in processes of ethnic segregation, at least with regard to the immigrants' ethnic minority identification. Interestingly, my findings do not imply that it plays a similarly important role predicting the respondents' German identification levels.

It is additionally interesting that discrimination, often understood as a major hurdle in the way to integration, presented a less clear picture compared with that provided by inter-ethnic contact. Specifically, with regard to language assimilation, discrimination is found to point individuals away from the dominant German group. With regard to social assimilation, it is however found to push those respondents who are socially assimilated further into the German group. A possible clarification for this outcome is the contradicting implications of these relations, namely, that while discrimination pushed the respondents away from the German group, as theoretically expected, their German friendships moderate this process. Discrimination was not found to exert any effect on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels.

The findings related with the respondents' structural integration, imply first that the German identification levels of language and socially assimilated respondents who are not employed, or undereducated, are higher. This is not surprising considering that among these individuals ethnic identification is predicted to be more central for their self-concept generally. However, it also points to a pattern of integration into the underclass. This pattern is only partly supported by the findings related with the respondents' ethnic minority identification. Here I find that respondents who are language marginalized show even lower levels of ethnic minority identification, if they hold an intermediate or high educational degree. Thus, high educational degree may be associated with a process of marginalization, where both the immigrants' identifications with their ethnic minority and with the receiving society lose weight in their self-conceptualization.

Generally, this chapter provides no clear confirmation for the expected relations between the respondents' need for self-regulation and their subjective success probabilities in their investment preferences. The direction of the effects, do provide support for the expectations made before, however these effects are often insignificant. This chapter does support a more general proposition made throughout this dissertation, namely that processes which take place in one of the two ethnic identification dimensions are not reciprocated in the other.

8. Extending the Model II: Ethnic Background as a Motivation for Ethnic Identification Preferences

This chapter has a similar aim as the former chapter yet it makes different assumptions regarding the relations between the different predictors of ethnic identification. Specifically, here I conceptualize the social and cultural integration of respondents as indicating their subjective success probabilities. Conceptualized in this manner, these indicators are expected to interact with a different motivational predictor in my models namely, the respondents' ethnic background. The actual effect of the motivation of respondents from disadvantaged groups to invest in leaving these groups on their ethnic identification preferences is also predicted to depend on the predictors associated with the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries. Representing additional determinants of the subjective success probabilities, the respondents' generational status and the number of years passed since their immigration will also be interacted with their ethnic background. Based on the assumptions of the theoretical model, the higher motivation of disadvantaged group members to invest is also expected to magnify the effect of their high subjective success probabilities on the respondents' investment preferences.

With one exception clarified below, the models presented here include the same indicators used before in this dissertation. As in the former chapter here too, the centered indicators for the number of years since immigration, and for the respondents' ethnic cultural commitment are included in the respective models.

8.1 Theoretical propositions

Relations between the respondents' ethnic background and their ethnic identification preferences, tap primarily to the propositions of social identity theory. They rely on the associations between the disadvantaged position of immigrant minorities in the receiving society, and their members' need to improve their social self-concept. Social identity theory, suggests that the consequences of this need depend on the perceived permeability of the boundaries between the minority and the dominant group.

The theory maintains that individuals, who are strongly motivated to leave their disadvantaged group, will only do so if the intergroup boundaries are perceived to be permeable. If they are perceived to be impermeable, individuals are expected to reconsider the potential utility of this strategy, due to their low success probabilities to actually gain it. The effect of the respondents' membership in a disadvantaged social group on their ethnic identification preferences is therefore expected to differ according to their perceptions of the permeability of the intergroup boundaries.

Respondents, who are members of disadvantaged ethnic groups, are expected to show higher levels of German identification if they maintain inter-ethnic contact. Under the same condition, they are also predicted to show lower levels of ethnic minority identification. To the contrary, respondents who report to have experienced discrimination due to their ethnic origin are expected to show lower levels of German identification and higher levels of identification with their ethnic minority.

A third determinant of the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries in my model is the respondents' structural integration. Lack of structural integration is understood to lead to the respondents' stronger material dependency on their ethnic minority, making them perceive the intergroup boundaries as impermeable. It may also be understood to imply their discrimination by the receiving society, once again pointing to perceived impermeable boundaries between their ethnic minority and the dominant majority.

With improving position in the labor market, and higher education, both the dependency of the respondents on their ethnic minority, and their feelings of discrimination will weaken. Respondents, members of disadvantaged minority groups who demonstrate these integration patterns are thus predicted to show higher levels of German identification and lower levels of ethnic minority identification, compared with those not demonstrating them. The respondents' educational background is expected to lead to similar consequences.

The perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries is not the sole factor I expect to intervene in the relations between the respondents' ethnic group membership and their ethnic identification preferences. These relations are also predicted to be shaped by the respondents' cultural and social integration. Representing the respondents' subjective success probabilities to gain from an investment, cultural and social integration patterns can either magnify the effect of the respondents' disadvantaged group position on their ethnic minority, and German identification levels or, alternatively, moderate them.

Compared with separation, language and social assimilation, and marginalization, are all predicted to better secure the respondents' subjective success probabilities in a social mobility related investment. Implying increasing skills or increasing social ties with the German group, and decreasing skills or social ties with the ethnic minority, they would increase the respondents' normative 'fit' to the German social group. The same patterns will also imply lower normative 'fit' to the ethnic minority group. These cultural and social integration patterns are thus predicted to magnify the positive (negative) effect of disadvantaged group membership on the respondents' German (ethnic minority) identification levels. The respondents' decreasing commitment to their heritage culture is predicted to work in the same way.

Mixed friendship and bilingualism patterns, may imply the respondents' increasing associations with the minority or with the German ethnic groups. They are first predicted to encourage social mobility, among members of disadvantaged immigrant minorities in the form of an investment in German identification. They may also positively predict the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, thus moderating their motivation to dissociate from their ethnic minority.

Two additional determinants of the subjective success probabilities of the respondents to gain from social mobility are their generational status, and the number of years passed since their immigration. They too, may therefore have consequences for the association between the respondents' ethnic background, and their ethnic identification preferences. The number of years passed since immigration is predicted to increase the subjective success probabilities of an investment in social mobility. It is thus predicted that the positive effect of the respondents' ethnic background on their German identification will become stronger over time. The respondents' ethnic minority identification levels are correspondingly predicted to decrease over time.

As for generational status, here I predict that among respondents affiliated with younger generations, the effect of their membership in a disadvantaged group will be magnified by their lower 'fit' to this group. Their higher subjective probabilities to successfully pass as Germans will magnify the effect of their disadvantaged group membership on their levels of German and ethnic minority identification levels.

8.2 Findings

Before presenting the findings from the OLS regression models, I present a general table (table 8.1 below) describing the distribution of the respondents according to their ethnic background, across the indicators included in these models. This table is aimed to provide information on the distribution of the respondents across the different cells represented by the interaction effects.

The data in table 8.1 is based on the larger, six-wave sample. One should remember that in those cells including a small number of respondents, their number is even smaller in the shorter 4 wave sample. One of the main problems demonstrated in the table is the very small number of respondents occupying the cells within the west European reference group, and in the east European as well as the 'other' ethnic background categories. In order to be able to test the hypotheses made above I will therefore limit my analysis to comparing the three traditional labor migrant groups, namely the Turkish, south European and ex-Yugoslavian. A fourth group will include the rest of the sample. The reference group in the models described below is the south European ethnic group, to which I compare the situation of the less advantaged Turkish and ex-Yugoslavian immigrants.

Table 8.1: The respondents' distribution according to their ethnic background across the different indicators included in the models

	Ethnic background							
	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia	South Europe	West Europe	East Europe	Other	*Person-year cases*	*n*
Generational status								
First generation	24.10%	15.32%	22.98%	2.58%	2.28%	1.96%	7,124	1816
1.5 generation	4.53%	0.92%	3.43%	0.18%	0.25%	0.00%	959	234
Second generation	7.88%	3.62%	9.37%	0.20%	0.26%	0.12%	2,208	591
Years passed since immigration (Mean, Std.)	20.64(7.89)	22.14 (8.23)	25.95 (7.70)	21.77 (10.92)	12.32 (8.1)	12.65 (8.15)	10291	2641
Inter-ethnic contact								
No	7.82%	2.69%	4.98%	0.07%	0.30%	0.22%	1,656	871
Yes	28.69%	17.18%	30.79%	2.90%	2.50	1.86%	8,635	2523
Discrimination								
No	16.67%	11.17%	21.67%	2.20%	1.31%	0.94%	5,553	2076
Yes	19.84%	8.70%	14.11%	0.77%	1.49%	1.14%	4,738	1770
Educational background								
Low	19.57%	9.10%	18.65%	0.12%	0.33%	0.47%	4,963	1206
Intermediate	8.87%	6.12%	8.76%	1.40%	1.05%	0.66%	2,765	719
High	4.24%	2.62%	5.23%	1.01%	1.07%	0.68%	1,528	444
Educational degree								
Low	27.29%	14.39%	27.54%	1.12%	1.26%	0.68%	7,438	1997
Intermediate-high	6.07%	3.71%	5.55%	0.94%	0.77%	0.61%	1,817	635
Post secondary	0.79%	0.60%	1.35%	0.85%	0.66%	0.65%	504	195
Labor market status								
Not-employed	18.48%	7.21%	12.86%	1.06%	1.23%	1.11%	4,317	1627
Low status	11.27%	7.22%	11.90%	0.36%	0.83%	0.48%	3,299	1382
Intermediate status	4.50%	3.65%	5.63%	0.43%	0.40%	0.17%	1,520	778
High status	1.85%	1.62%	4.60%	1.07%	0.33%	0.33%	1,008	494
Self-employed	0.34%	0.13%	0.74%	0.03%	0.01%	0.00%	128	78

Table 8.1 continued:

Language integration								
Assimilation	8.87%	4.51%	8.69%	0.55%	0.69%	0.21%	2,421	979
Multiple inclusion	4.18%	4.06%	6.36%	1.78%	0.65%	0.67%	1,822	919
Separation	9.34%	6.22%	9.57%	0.28%	1.01%	0.92%	2,814	1,220
Marginalization	13.73%	4.86%	10.71%	0.19%	0.44%	0.26%	3,107	1,224
Social integration								
Assimilation	3.62%	4.56%	7.33%	1.77%	1.06%	0.65%	1,954	850
Multiple inclusion	8.85%	5.40%	11.35%	0.57%	0.54%	0.42%	2,793	1,174
Separation	21.94%	7.07%	15.07%	0.22%	0.74%	0.61%	4,669	1,590
Marginalization	0.21%	1.01%	0.28%	0.05%	0.06%	0.04%	170	104
Ethnic cultural commitment (Mean, Std.)	2.22 (0.77)	2.89 (0.70)	2.67 (0.73)	3.37 (0.80)	3.14 (0.74)	2.88 (0.70)	10291	4359
Person year cases	3,757	2,045	3,682	305	288	214	-------	2641
n	933	513	889	116	104	86	10291	-------

(source: GSOEP waves 1993-2003; own analysis)

Table 8.2 presents the findings from the OLS hybrid regression models predicting the respondents' German (column 1) and ethnic minority (column 2) identification levels, where the new ethnic background categories are used. In general the findings in both models correspond well to those found in the previous chapter where the measurement for ethnic background was wider. In most of the indicators, the coefficients remain very similar.[31]

It is noteworthy that when predicting the respondents' German identification levels both the ex-Yugoslavians and the Turkish respondents show significantly higher levels of German identification compared with south European respondents (b=0.11, and 0.20 respectively). Predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, respondents with both Turkish and ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background show significantly lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with south European respondents (b=-0.33 and -0.29 respectively). These findings imply that the comparison between the three groups still adheres to my theoretical expectations to the extent that respondents from the more disadvantaged groups show higher motivations to dissociate from their ethnic minority. Unlike the model discussed in chapter 6, the model presented below predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels suggests that the effect of affiliation with the 1.5 generation on them is significant (b=-0.12).

Table 8.2 Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) predicting the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels (three ethnic background groups)

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.12*	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	0.11**	(0.04)	-0.33***	(0.04)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.20***	(0.04)	-0.29***	(0.04)
Rest	0.04	(0.06)	-0.20***	(0.06)
South Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	

[31] The random effects from the models presented in this chapter are found in appendix 7

Table 8.2 continued:

Educational background (int.)	0.07	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.02	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.13	(0.11)	0.15	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.058)
Self-employed	0.20*	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)
Language assimilation	0.30***	(0.04)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.15***	(0.04)	-0.008	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.06*	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.009	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---
1997	0.05	(0.05)	reference	
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.26*	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.23	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)
_cons	0.84***	(0.20)	5.03***	(0.17)
N	2641		2023	
Person year cases	10291		6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

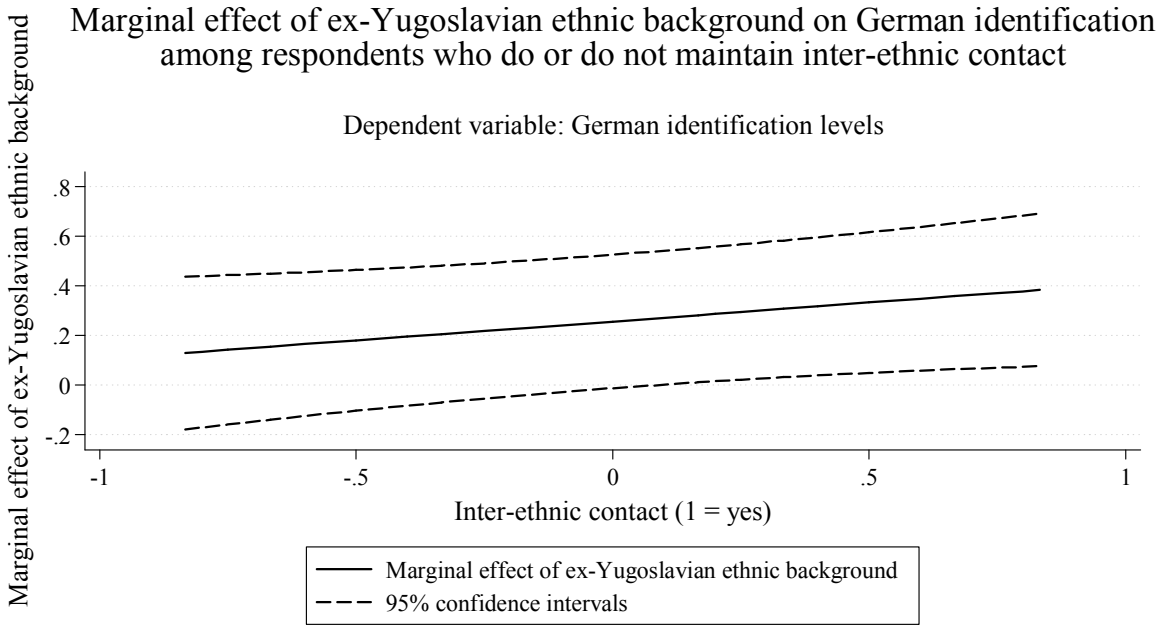
Inter-ethnic contact:

The next two models explored the effect of the interaction between the respondents' ethnic background, as an indicator for their disadvantaged group membership, and their maintenance of inter-ethnic contact. Predicting the respondents' German identification levels, none of these interaction terms were significant. Unlike the basic model described above, in these models, only respondents of the 'rest' category demonstrate higher German identification levels compared with those demonstrated by south European respondents (see table 8.3, column 1).

The insignificant coefficients for ex-Yugoslavian and Turkish ethnic background imply that respondents from these immigrant minority groups, who do not maintain inter-ethnic contact, do not differ significantly from south European respondents in their German identification levels. Supporting my hypotheses, the interaction term for ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background and inter-ethnic contact suggests that if respondents from this group maintain inter-ethnic contact, their German identification levels are higher (see figure 8.1). The effect of Turkish ethnic background remains insignificant, whether respondents maintain or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact.

Figure 8.1 postulates inter-ethnic contact as a metric scale because it represents its fixed effect on the respondents' German identification levels, and hence the distance of each respondent from the mean value it holds on the measured quantity, in this case, its inter-ethnic contact. A change from no maintenance of inter-ethnic contact to its maintenance is only observed among respondents found to the right of the zero point of the X axis. Only among them does the effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background become significant.

Figure 8.1: Marginal effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background on German identification among respondents who do or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Table 8.3 Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between ethnic background, inter-ethnic contact and discrimination

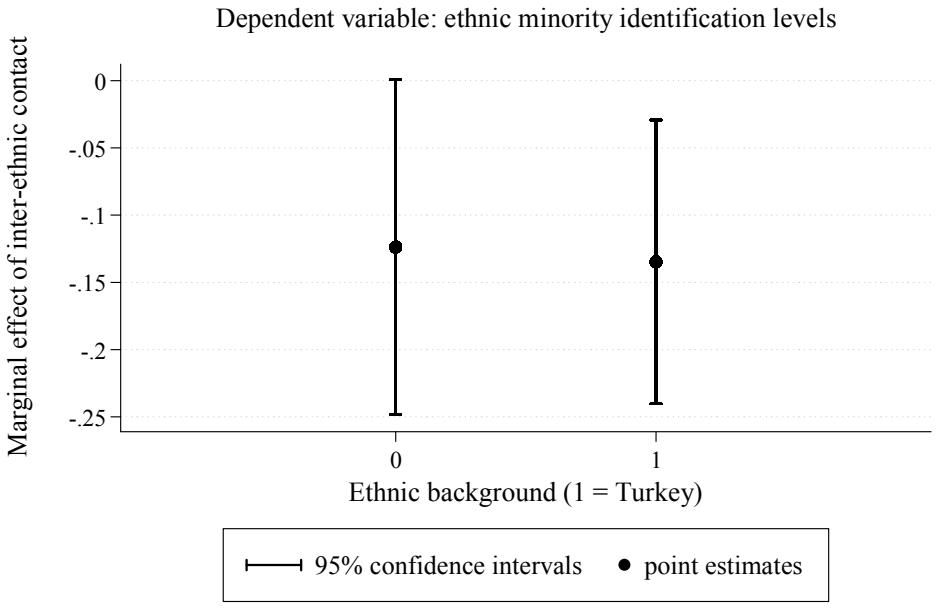
	German identification levels				Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Inter-ethnic contact		Discrimination		Inter-ethnic contact		Discrimination	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference		reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.06	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.11	(0.06)	-0.12*	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	0.12	(0.11)	0.04	(0.05)	-0.29*	(0.12)	-0.38***	(0.06)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.26	(0.14)	0.23***	(0.06)	-0.42**	(0.14)	-0.30***	(0.06)
Rest	0.49*	(0.22)	0.03	(0.08)	-0.42*	(0.21)	-0.08	(0.07)
South Europe	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.07	(0.03)	0.06	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.02	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)	0.10*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.13	(0.11)	-0.13	(0.11)	0.15	(0.13)	0.14	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	-0.06*	(0.03)	0.009	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.20	(0.10)	0.20*	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)	-0.41	(0.24)
Language assimilation	0.30***	(0.04)	0.30***	(0.04)	-0.15**	(0.05)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.14***	(0.04)	0.15***	(0.04)	-0.009	(0.05)	-0.009	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.07*	(0.03)	0.06*	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.07	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.01	(0.09)	0.02	(0.09)	-0.37*	(0.15)	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.21***	(0.05)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.12	(0.06)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.04)	-0.009	(0.03)	-0.009	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference		---	---	---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---	---	---
1997	0.05	(0.05)	0.05	(0.05)	reference		reference	
1999	0.13	(0.08)	0.12	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.26**	(0.10)	0.26*	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.08)	-0.006	(0.08)
2003	0.24	(0.12)	0.23	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)	0.08	(0.12)
Contact /disc.* Turkey	-0.08	(0.07)	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.08)	-0.07	(0.06)
Contact /disc * ex-Yugoslavia	0.15	(0.09)	0.003	(0.06)	0.03	(0.12)	0.12	(0.08)
Contact /disc.* Rest	-0.09	(0.16)	-0.10	(0.10)	0.15	(0.16)	0.03	(0.10)
_cons	0.80***	(0.21)	0.87***	(0.20)	5.07***	(0.19)	5.04***	(0.17)
N	2641				2023			
Person year cases	10291				6356			

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The interaction terms between the respondents' ethnic background and their maintenance of inter-ethnic contact are also insignificant predicting their ethnic minority identification levels (see table 8.3 column 3). The direction of the interaction terms confirms that with inter-ethnic contact maintenance, the differences in the ethnic identification levels of respondents with Turkish or ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background, and those of south European respondents increase. Among Turkish respondents, engagement in inter-ethnic contact further decreases their ethnic identification levels, while among ex-Yugoslavian respondents it increases them slightly.

Unlike the basic model presented above, in this model the effect of inter-ethnic contact is also insignificant. Thus, inter-ethnic contact is not found to decrease the ethnic minority identification levels of respondents with south European ethnic background. Modeling the marginal effect of inter-ethnic contact for respondents with south European or Turkish ethnic background, inter-ethnic contact is found to have a significant effect only on the ethnic minority identification levels of respondents from the later group (see figure 8.2). As expected, membership in the Turkish disadvantaged immigrant minority encourages respondents who maintain contact with Germans to invest in social mobility, in this case, through dissociation form their ethnic minority.

Figure 8.2: Marginal effect of inter-ethnic contact on ethnic minority identification among respondents with Turkish or south European ethnic background



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Discrimination:

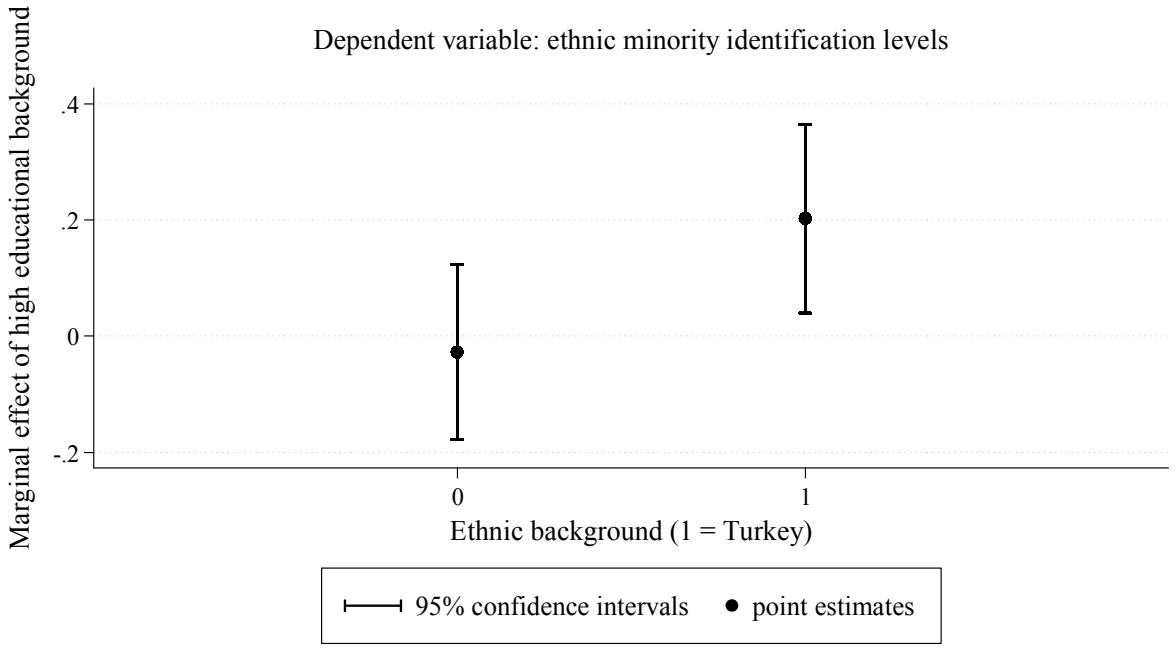
Predicting the respondents' German identification levels the interactions between their ethnic background and their *discrimination* experiences were insignificant (see table 8.3 column 2). The direction of the interaction term between Turkish ethnic background and discrimination implies that my hypothesis was correct and that discrimination moderates the positive effect of the respondents' ethnic background on their German identification levels. Once the interaction terms are introduced, only respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background show significantly higher levels of German identification compared with south European respondents (b=0.23). Among Turkish respondents, this effect is no longer significant, suggesting that they do not differ in their German identification levels from south European respondents, whether experiencing discrimination or not. The model estimating the potential contribution of the interaction between discrimination and ethnic background to the respondents' ethnic minority identification does not suggest new findings.

Structural integration: (educational background, educational degree, and labor market status)

The interactions between the respondents' *educational background* and their *educational degree*, and their ethnic background suggest no new information predicting the respondents' German identification levels. Educational background was however found to intervene in the relations between the respondents' ethnic background and their ethnic minority identification levels. Specifically, the interaction between high educational background and Turkish as well as ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background were significant (b=0.24 and 0.28 respectively).

I did not find indication for the expected magnification of the effect of the respondents' ethnic background on their ethnic minority identification by their educational background. The interactions do indicate that among respondents with high educational background, Turkish, and ex-Yugoslavian persons demonstrate higher levels of ethnic minority identification (see figure 8.3 for the Turkish case). The interactions between the respondents' educational degree and their ethnic background were insignificant predicting their ethnic minority identification levels.

Figure 8.3 Marginal effect of high educational background on ethnic minority identification among respondents with Turkish or south European ethnic background



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Table 8.4: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from the model including the interaction between ethnic background and educational background predicting ethnic minority identification

	Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	-0.03	(0.03)
Male	reference	
First generation	reference	
Second generation	-0.20***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.13*	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	-0.33***	(0.05)
Ex-Yugoslavia	-0.32***	(0.06)
Rest	-0.19*	(0.09)
South Europe	reference	
Educational background (low)	reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.04	(0.06)
Educational background (high)	-0.04	(0.08)
Educational degree (low)	reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.15	(0.13)
Not-employed	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.06	(0.04)

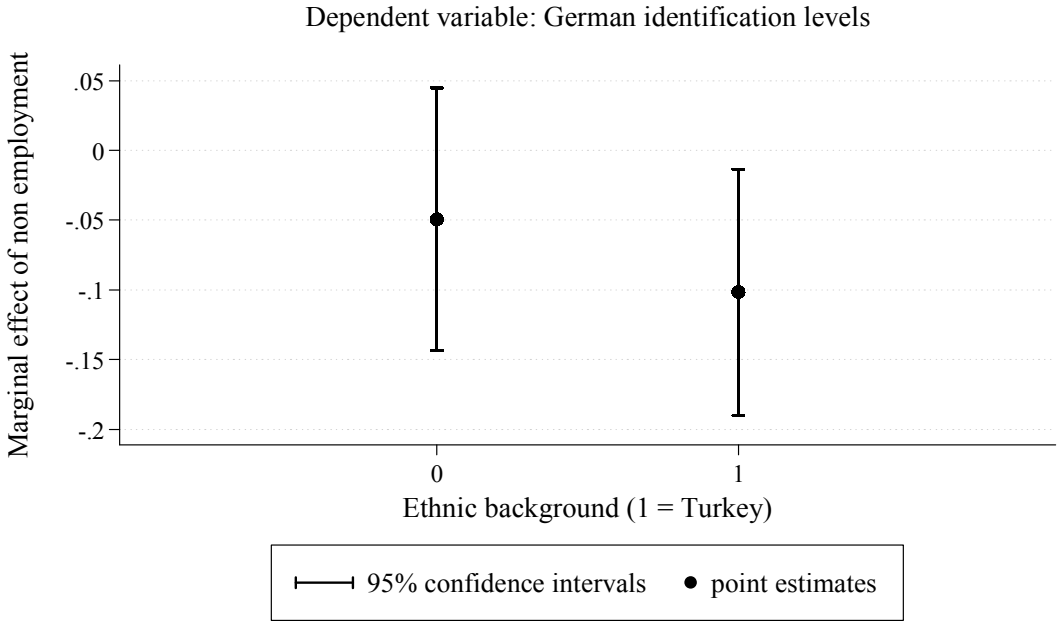
Table 8.4 continued:

High labor market status	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	-0.41	(0.24)
Language assimilation	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.008	(0.05)
Language separation	reference	
Language marginalization	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference	
Social marginalization	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.009	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference	
1997	reference	
1999	0.03	(0.05)
2001	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.07	(0.12)
Turkey * intermediate educational background	-0.11	(0.08)
Ex-Yugos. * intermediate educational background	-0.06	(0.09)
Rest * intermediate educational background	-0.10	(0.12)
Turkey * high educational background	0.24*	(0.11)
Ex-Yugos. * high educational background	0.28*	(0.12)
Rest * high educational background	0.13	(0.13)
_cons	5.04***	(0.17)
N	2023	
Person year cases	6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

The final predictor of structural integration in my models is the respondents' labor market status measured as their relative autonomy on the job. Predicting the respondents' German identification levels, the model presented in table 8.5 shows no significant interactions between the different labor market status dummies and the different ethnic backgrounds of the respondents. Unlike in the basic model, the effect of non-employment is here also insignificant. Yet, exploring its marginal effect on German identification for different ethnic background groups I find that it does significantly decrease German identification levels among respondents with Turkish ethnic background (see figure 8.4). Thus, the negative effect of non employment on the respondents' German identification levels is magnified by their membership in a disadvantaged group.

Figure 8.4: Marginal effect of non employment on German identification among respondents with Turkish or south European ethnic background



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, only one interaction term was significant namely, between Turkish ethnic background and intermediate labor market status (b=-0.23). The finding implies that an improvement in the Turkish respondents' labor market status leads to a further decrease in their ethnic minority identification levels compared with those holding low status jobs (b=-0.65). It also implies that intermediate labor market status, decreases the ethnic minority identification levels among respondents with Turkish ethnic background, but not among south European respondents.

Table 8.5 Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interaction between ethnic background and labor market status

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	0.03	(0.03)	-0.05	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.05	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.06	(0.06)	-0.12*	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	-0.04	(0.02)
Turkey	0.16*	(0.07)	-0.42***	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.28***	(0.08)	-0.30***	(0.09)
Rest	0.25*	(0.12)	-0.42***	(0.11)

Table 8.5 continued

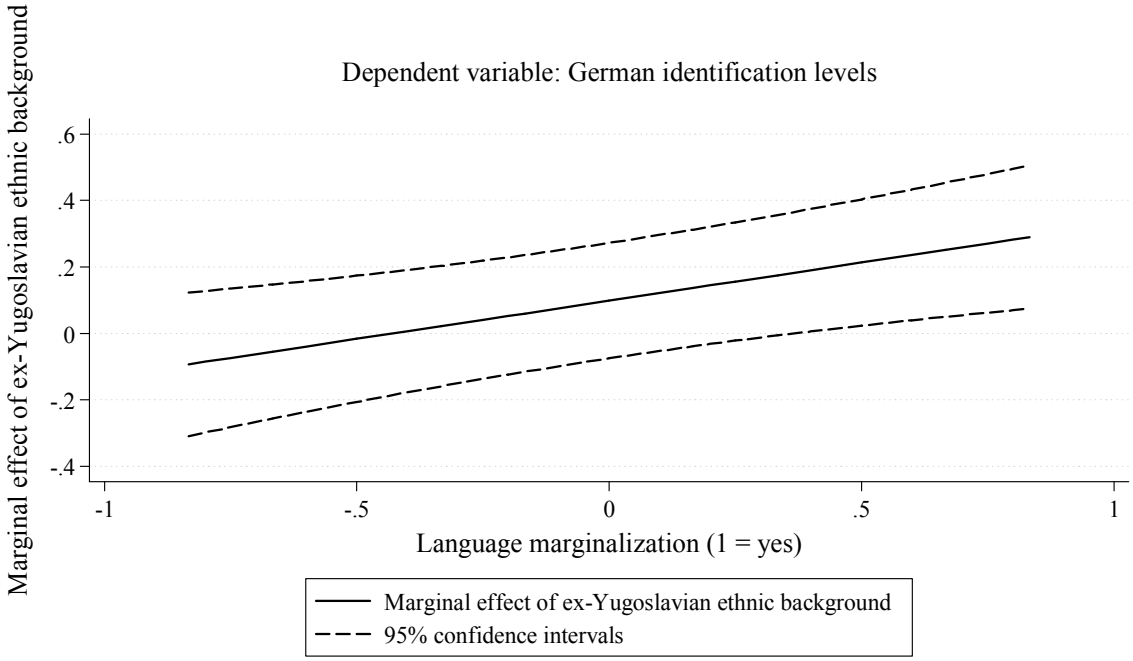
South Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.02	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.02	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.14	(0.11)	0.13	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.05	(0.05)	0.01	(0.06)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.04	(0.05)	0.03	(0.07)
High labor market status	-0.000	(0.07)	-0.11	(0.09)
Self-employed	0.37**	(0.13)	-0.12	(0.49)
Language assimilation	0.30***	(0.04)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.15***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.07*	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.38**	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.008	(0.02)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---
1997	0.05	(0.05)	reference	
1999	0.13	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.26**	(0.10)	0.0002	(0.08)
2003	0.25*	(0.12)	0.09	(0.12)
Not employed * Turkey	-0.05	(0.06)	0.06	(0.09)
Inter. status * Turkey	0.05	(0.08)	-0.23*	(0.11)
High status * Turkey	0.13	(0.11)	0.07	(0.14)
Self-employed * Turkey	-0.44	(0.23)	-0.33	(0.66)
Not employed * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.02	(0.08)	-0.09	(0.11)
Inter. status * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.02	(0.09)	-0.09	(0.12)
High status * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.13	(0.12)	-0.11	(0.16)
Self-employed * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.34	(0.36)	-0.86	(0.69)
Not employed * Rest	0.21	(0.13)	-0.06	(0.14)
Inter. status * Rest	0.21	(0.17)	-0.05	(0.17)
High status * Rest	0.23	(0.18)	0.08	(0.18)
Self-employed * Rest	-0.26	(0.55)	0.09	(0.74)
_cons	0.78***	(0.20)	5.08***	(0.17)
N	2641		2023	
Person year cases	10291		6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Cultural integration (language and social integration patterns, and ethnic cultural commitment):

Starting with the respondents' *language integration* strategies (table 8.6 column 1) findings from the model predicting their German identification levels reveal two significant interaction terms between Turkish ethnic background and language assimilation (b=0.29), and between ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background and language marginalization (b=0.23). Exploring the marginal effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background among respondents who demonstrate a transition from language separation to marginalization, I find that they show higher levels of German identification only if they demonstrate a pattern of language marginalization (see figure 8.5). Figure 8.5 postulates this transition as a metric scale because it represents the fixed effect, and hence the individual based distance of each respondent from the mean value it holds on the measured quantity, in this case, its language integration pattern. Respondents located to the right of the zero point are those who experienced the move from separation to marginalization. Only among them the effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background is significant.

Figure 8.5: Marginal effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background on German identification among respondents who are or are not language marginalized

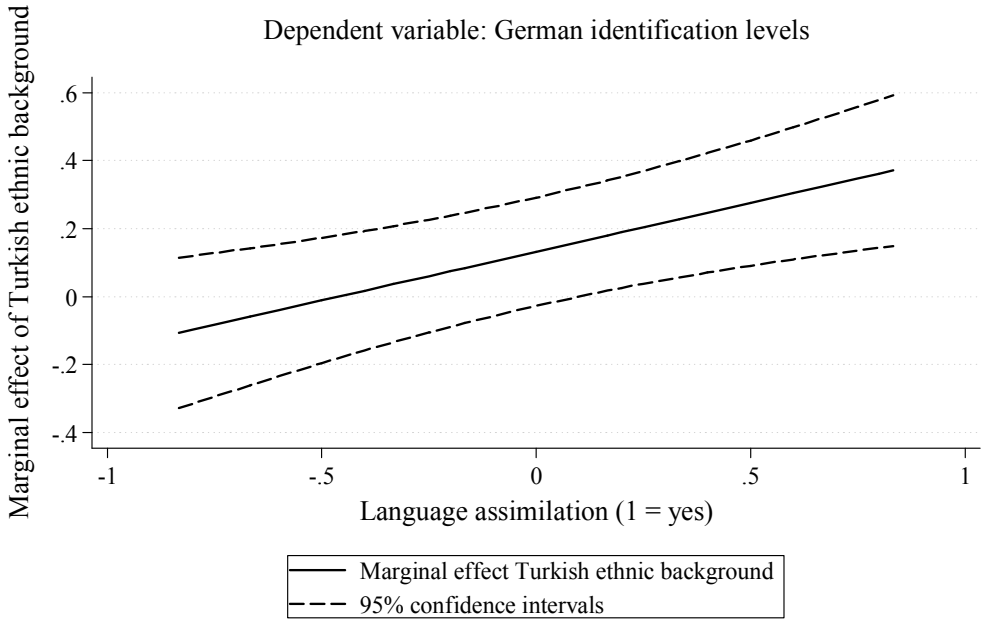


(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The findings presented in table 8.6 additionally suggest that respondents with Turkish or ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background, demonstrating a language separation pattern, do not differ significantly from south European respondents in their German identification levels. Figure 8.6 demonstrates that for the case of

the Turkish respondents, their ethnic background does increase their German identification if they have changed their language skills from separation to assimilation. No similar consequences were found for respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background.

Figure 8.6: Marginal effect of Turkish ethnic background on German identification among respondents who are or are not language assimilated



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The insignificant effect of bilingualism (multiple-inclusion) in the model imply that its effect on the respondents' German identification levels do not differ across different ethnic background groups.

Table 8.6: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between ethnic background, language and social integration, predicting German identification

	German identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.06	(0.05)	-0.06	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Turkey	0.13	(0.08)	0.10*	(0.05)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.10	(0.09)	0.22**	(0.07)
Rest	0.18	(0.11)	0.14	(0.10)

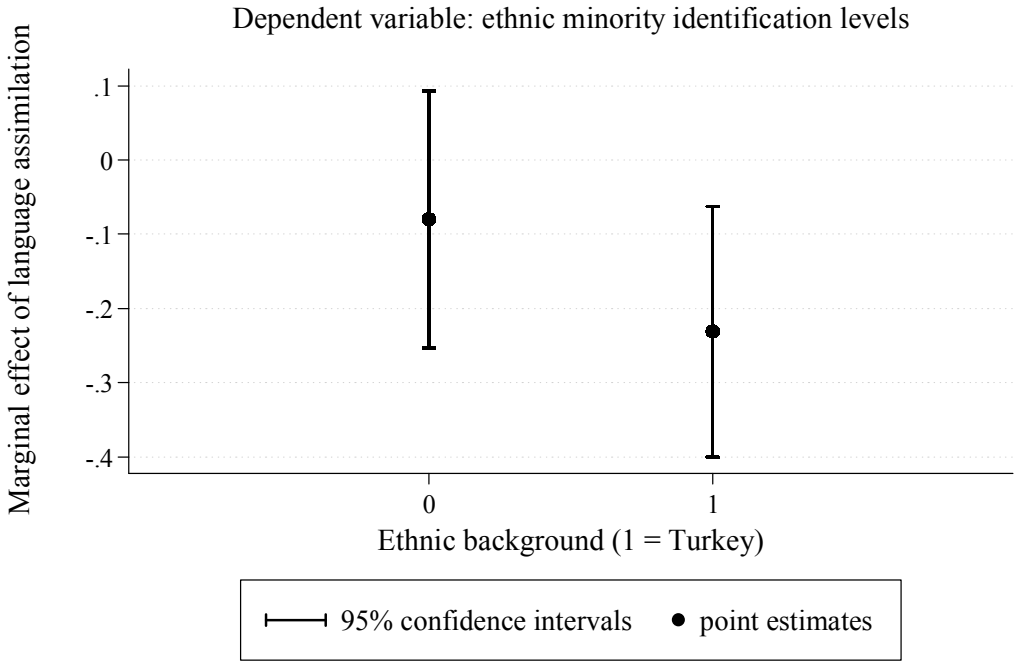
Table 8.6 continued

South Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.07*	(0.03)	0.07	(0.03)
Educational background (high)	0.01	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	-0.10*	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.13	(0.11)	-0.13	(0.11)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	-0.06*	(0.03)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)
High labor market status	0.02	(0.05)	0.01	(0.05)
Self-employed	0.21*	(0.10)	0.20	(0.10)
Language assimilation	0.16*	(0.07)	0.30***	(0.04)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.08	(0.06)	0.15***	(0.04)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.02	(0.04)	0.07*	(0.03)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05*	(0.02)	0.05**	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	0.13*	(0.06)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.07	(0.22)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	0.19***	(0.03)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.05*	(0.02)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-0.08*	(0.03)	-0.07*	(0.03)
1997	0.05	(0.05)	0.05	(0.05)
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.12	(0.08)
2001	0.26**	(0.10)	0.26*	(0.10)
2003	0.24	(0.12)	0.24	(0.12)
Turkey * language/social ass.	0.29**	(0.09)	0.10	(0.08)
Turkey * language/social mi.	0.08	(0.09)	-0.04	(0.06)
Turkey * language/social mar.	0.11	(0.06)	0.46	(0.31)
Ex-Yugoslavia * language/social ass.	0.14	(0.11)	0.003	(0.09)
Ex-Yugoslavia * language/social mi.	0.12	(0.10)	0.05	(0.08)
Ex-Yugoslavia * language/social mar.	0.23**	(0.08)	0.05	(0.25)
Rest* language/social ass.	-0.08	(0.19)	-0.36*	(0.15)
Rest * language/social mi.	0.14	(0.14)	-0.34*	(0.15)
Rest * language/social mar.	0.26	(0.17)	-0.19	(0.45)
_cons	0.81***	(0.20)	0.82***	(0.20)
N	2641		2641	
Person year cases	10291		10291	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

In the model predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels none of the interaction terms are significant (see table 8.7). Looking at the directions of the interaction terms, my hypotheses regarding language assimilation are supported. One exception is that language marginalization is found to imply increasing levels of ethnic minority identification among respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background and not their expected decrease. Once the interactions are included, the effect of language assimilation is no longer significant, implying that language assimilation does not affect the ethnic minority identification levels of respondents with south European ethnic background. Modeling the marginal effect of language assimilation I find that it does significantly decrease the ethnic minority identification levels of respondents with Turkish ethnic background (see figure 8.7 below).

Figure 8.7: Marginal effect of language assimilation on ethnic minority identification among respondents with Turkish or south European ethnic background



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

The interaction terms between the respondents' ethnic background and their commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage were insignificant predicting their German and ethnic minority identification levels. These models did not contribute any new information regarding the relations between cultural commitment, or ethnic background and the respondents' ethnic identification preferences.

Table 8.7: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interactions between ethnic background, language and social integration, predicting ethnic minority identification

	Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Female	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.21***	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.11	(0.06)	-0.12*	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	-0.19*	(0.08)	-0.32***	(0.05)
Ex-Yugoslavia	-0.26**	(0.09)	-0.26***	(0.06)
Rest	-0.19	(0.10)	-0.36***	(0.09)
South Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	-0.03	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.10*	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	0.04	(0.05)	0.02	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.15	(0.13)	0.14	(0.13)
Not-employed	0.01	(0.04)	0.009	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	-0.10	(0.06)	-0.09	(0.06)
Self-employed	-0.42	(0.24)	-0.35	(0.24)
Language assimilation	-0.08	(0.09)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.04	(0.08)	-0.008	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.11*	(0.06)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	-0.02	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.07)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.06	(0.04)	-0.16*	(0.07)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.38*	(0.15)	-0.63	(0.35)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	-0.11**	(0.04)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.008	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1997	reference		reference	
1999	0.03	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	-0.02	(0.08)	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.07	(0.12)	0.08	(0.12)
Turkey * language/soc.ass.	-0.15	(0.12)	0.11	(0.12)
Turkey * language/soc. mi.	-0.03	(0.12)	0.17	(0.09)
Turkey * language/soc. mar.	-0.05	(0.08)	-0.009	(0.43)
Ex-Yugos. * language/soc. ass.	-0.06	(0.15)	0.07	(0.13)
Ex-Yugos * language/soc. mi.	0.08	(0.13)	0.17	(0.11)

Table 8.7 continued:

Ex-Yugos * language/soc. mar.	0.11	(0.10)	1.05*	(0.44)
Rest * language/soc. ass.	-0.19	(0.20)	0.23	(0.15)
Rest * language/soc. mi.	0.17	(0.15)	0.01	(0.16)
Rest * language/soc. mar.	-0.02	(0.17)	-0.31	(0.51)
_cons	4.99***	(0.18)	5.05***	(0.17)
N	2023		2023	
Person year cases	6356		6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Table 8.6 above also describes the findings from the models in which interaction terms between the social integration patterns of the respondents' and their ethnic background were included. As demonstrated in column 2, predicting the respondents' German identification levels, I find two significant interactions between the 'rest' category and social assimilation and social marginalization (b=-0.36 and -0.34 respectively). Both effects are difficult to interpret given the composition of the 'rest' category. Generally, they imply that among these respondents, levels of German identification are lower if they created friendships with Germans, thus moving away from the social separation pattern.

The directions of the other interaction terms support my hypotheses, as they imply that social assimilation magnifies the effect of the respondents Turkish or ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background on their German identification levels. The transition to the multiple-inclusion pattern, does not work in the same way for respondents from these two groups. Among Turkish respondents, it implies lower German identification levels. Among the ex-Yugoslavian respondents, it implies higher German identification levels.

Predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels (see table 8.7 above), the interaction between social marginalization and ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background was significant (b=1.05). However, given the small number of cases in this category, I will not elaborate on it further. The direction of the other interaction terms implies that my hypothesis regarding social assimilation were wrong. Respondents with Turkish or ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background, who moved from social separation to assimilation, are found to demonstrate higher and not lower levels of ethnic minority identification.

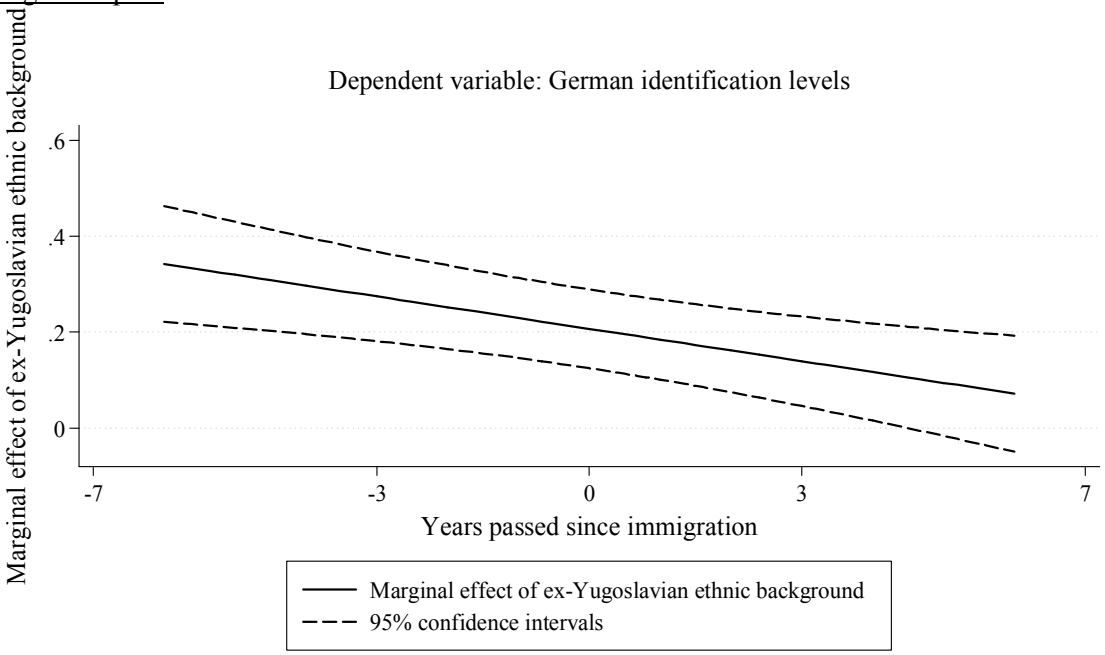
It is interesting that once the interactions between the respondents' social integration patterns and their ethnic background are included in the model, the effect of having mixed friendship patterns on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels is significant. This finding implies that among south European respondents, the emergence of friendships with Germans decreases their ethnic minority identification levels. This is however not the case for respondents with Turkish, or ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background.

Closing this section, it is possible to conclude that the respondents' cultural and social integration patterns partly intervene in the relations between their ethnic background and their ethnic identification preferences. In line with my hypotheses, I find that language assimilation support the respondents' social mobility motivations and magnify the related effects, both on their German and ethnic minority identification levels. For social assimilation, the findings present a more challenging picture.

The number of years passed since immigration:

The models exploring the interactions between the number years passed since the respondents' immigration and their ethnic background are presented in table 8.8. The interaction between the number of years passed since immigration and ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background has a significant negative effect on respondents' German identification levels (b=-0.02). As demonstrated in figure 8.8, rejecting my hypothesis, the longer the time passed since immigration, the weaker the effect of the respondents' ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background on their German identification levels.

Figure 8.8: Marginal effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background on German identification as years since immigration pass



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The interpretation of figure 8.8 is challenging because the number of years passed since immigration is measured by a centered within-individual indicator. To simplify things, it is useful to remember that the

zero category represents the mean number of years an individual spent in Germany. A move from left to right on the scale therefore implies increasing number of years.

Modeling the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, none of the interaction terms was significant. The direction of the interaction terms rejects my hypothesis implying a slight moderation in the effects of the respondents' ethnic background on their ethnic minority identification levels.

Table 8.8: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from the model including the interaction between ethnic background and the years passed since immigration predicting German identification

	German identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)
Male	reference	
First generation	reference	
Second generation	-0.05	(0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.04	(0.06)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)
Turkey	0.11**	(0.04)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.21***	(0.04)
Rest	0.05	(0.07)
South Europe	reference	
Educational background (low)	reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)
Educational background (high)	0.02	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.14	(0.11)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)
Low labor market status	reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)
High labor market status	0.02	(0.05)
Self-employed	0.20*	(0.10)
Language assimilation	0.30***	(0.04)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.14***	(0.04)
Language separation	reference	
Language marginalization	0.07*	(0.03)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.04	(0.03)
Social separation	0.01	(0.09)
Social marginalization	reference	
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)
Discrimination (no)	reference	
1993	reference	

Table 8.8 continued:

1995	-0.07*	(0.03)
1997	0.05	(0.05)
1999	0.12	(0.08)
2001	0.25*	(0.10)
2003	0.23	(0.12)
Turkey * year passed since immigration	0.01	(0.006)
Ex-Yugoslavia * years passed since immigration	-0.02**	(0.007)
Rest * years passed since immigration	-0.004	(0.02)
_cons	1.12***	(0.19)
N	2641	
Person year cases	10291	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Generational status:

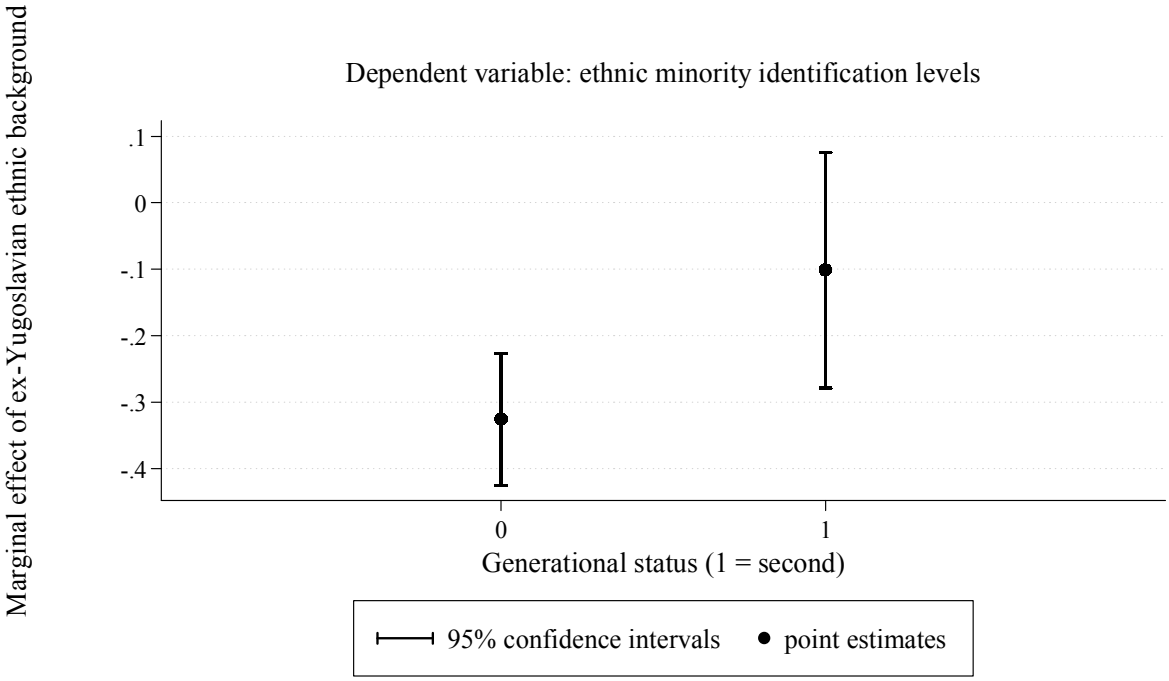
Table 8.9 below presents information from the models including the interaction between the respondents' generational status and their ethnic background. Predicting the respondents' German identification levels, two of the interaction terms are significant namely the interaction between Turkish ethnic background and 1.5 generational affiliation, and that of the 'rest' category with the same generational indicator. In line with my expectations, Turkish respondents, affiliated with the 1.5 generation show significantly higher levels of German identification compared with first generation Turkish immigrants (b=0.42 and 0.11 respectively). The significant effect of 1.5 generational affiliation (b=-0.24), also implies that Turkish respondents (and also members of the rest category) affiliated with the 1.5 generation hold higher levels of German identification compared with south European respondents affiliated with the same generation.

Interestingly, the interactions between Turkish as well as ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background, and second generation affiliation, were both negative implying that among respondents of both ethnic groups, affiliation with the second generation implies lower and not higher levels of German identification.

Predicting the respondents' levels of ethnic minority identification I find that contrary to my hypothesis, the interaction between ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background and second generation affiliation is positive. The effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background on the respondents' ethnic identification levels is smaller among respondents affiliated with the second generation compared with those affiliated with the first

immigrant generation. (b=-0.10 and -0.32 respectively). Modeling the associated marginal effects, I find that respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background only show lower levels of ethnic minority identification, if affiliated with the first immigrant generation (see figure 8.9).[32]

Figure 8.9: Marginal effect of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background on ethnic minority identification among respondents affiliated with the second or first immigrant generation

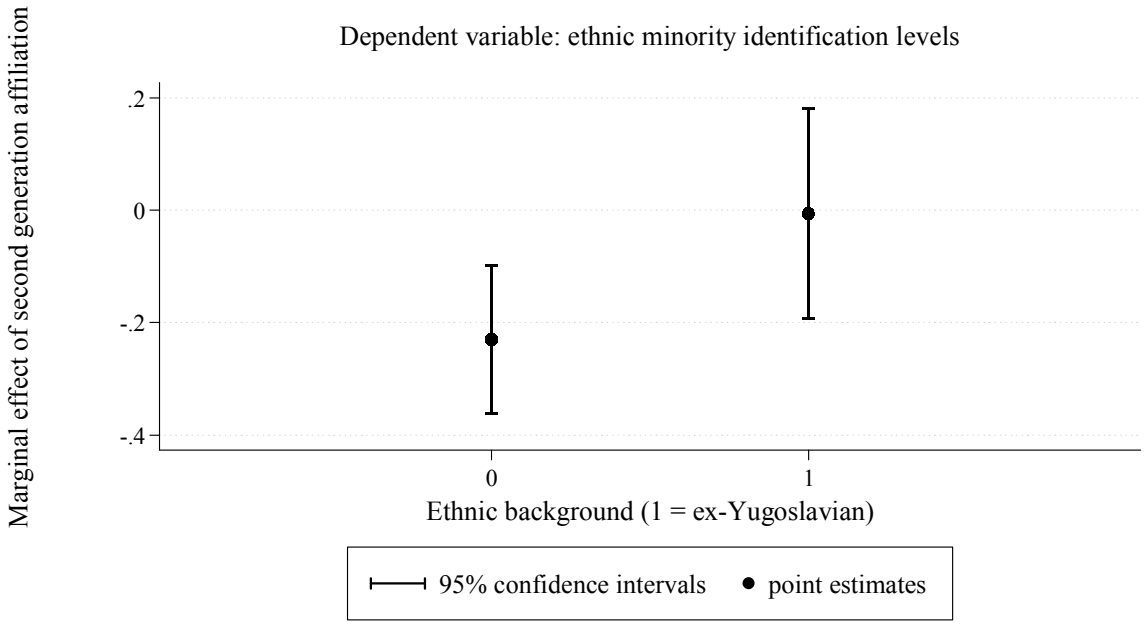


(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

The interaction between second generation affiliation and ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background also implies that respondents affiliated with the second generation demonstrate lower levels of ethnic minority identification if they are of south European ethnic background than if they are of ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background. The effect of second generation affiliation is only significant among members of the former ethnic group (see figure 8.10).

[32] This was also confirmed when exploring the relations between ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background and 1.5 generational affiliation.

Figure 8.10: Marginal effect of second generation affiliation on ethnic minority identification among respondents with ex-Yugoslavian or south European ethnic background



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Table 8.9: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) from models including the interaction between ethnic background and generational status

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Female	0.02	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)
Male	reference		reference	
First generation	reference		reference	
Second generation	-0.01	(0.06)	-0.23***	(0.07)
1.5 generation	-0.24**	(0.09)	0.04	(0.09)
Years passed since immigration	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)
Turkey	0.11*	(0.04)	-0.30***	(0.05)
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.18***	(0.05)	-0.32***	(0.05)
Rest	0.01	(0.07)	-0.13*	(0.06)
South Europe	reference		reference	
Educational background (low)	reference		reference	
Educational background (int.)	0.06	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.04)
Educational background (high)	0.002	(0.05)	0.11*	(0.05)
Educational degree (low)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (int.-high)	-0.10*	(0.05)	0.03	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.13	(0.11)	0.15	(0.13)
Not-employed	-0.06*	(0.03)	0.01	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Int. labor market status	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.20*	(0.10)	-0.41	(0.24)

Table 8.9 continued:

Language assimilation	0.30***	(0.04)	-0.15**	(0.05)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.15***	(0.04)	-0.008	(0.05)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.06*	(0.03)	-0.11**	(0.04)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.05**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Social assimilation	0.13***	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	(0.03)	-0.06	(0.04)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.02	(0.09)	-0.37*	(0.15)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.19***	(0.03)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.05*	(0.02)	-0.009	(0.03)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-0.07*	(0.03)	---	---
1997	0.05	(0.05)	reference	
1999	0.12	(0.08)	0.03	(0.05)
2001	0.26*	(0.10)	-0.01	(0.08)
2003	0.23	(0.12)	0.07	(0.12)
1.5 * Turkey	0.31**	(0.11)	-0.20	(0.11)
Second * Turkey	-0.12	(0.08)	0.004	(0.08)
1.5 * ex Yugoslavia	0.20	(0.17)	-0.06	(0.18)
Second * ex Yugoslavia	-0.0005	(0.10)	0.22*	(0.10)
1.5 * rest	0.43*	(0.21)	-0.69***	(0.19)
Second* rest	0.03	(0.18)	-0.37*	(0.18)
_cons	0.85***	(0.20)	5.02***	(0.17)
N	2641		2023	
Person year cases	10291		6356	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

8.3 Summary

My expectations regarding the relationships between the respondents' disadvantaged group membership and the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries were partly confirmed by the data. The insignificant effects can most likely be traced back to the small number of cases in the different ethnic background groups, leading among others to very small 'within-respondents' variance.

Among the findings that support my propositions, inter-ethnic contact was found to contribute to processes of increasing German identification, and decreasing ethnic minority identification. In the former case, I find that inter-ethnic contact serves as a condition for ex-Yugoslavian respondents to demonstrate higher levels of German identification. In the later case, inter-ethnic contact is found to decrease the respondents' ethnic minority identification, if they are of Turkish ethnic background. Thus, the findings provide support for both predicted interrelations between the subjective success probabilities of the respondents, and their investment motivation. The contribution of discrimination to the respondents'

identification preferences was relatively minor. I could not find a clear indication for its intervention in the relations between the respondents' ethnic background and their ethnic identification, or for the opposite intervention direction.

Contrary to my expectations, high educational background was found to increase the ethnic minority identification levels of respondents from disadvantaged groups, and not to decrease them. The findings indicated additionally that non employment significantly decreases German identification levels among Turkish respondents. This finding goes against my expectations that high motivations will moderate the negative effect of low subjective success probabilities.

Of the different possible language integration patterns specified in my model, it appears that those associated with the decrease in the respondents' mother tongue skills are more meaningful. Specifically, the findings above indicate that respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background demonstrate higher levels of German identification only if they experienced language marginalization. Additionally, Turkish respondents demonstrate lower levels of ethnic minority identification only if experiencing language assimilation. One of the more substantive consequences of these two findings is that it questions, at least for the former case, the efficiency of language courses for strengthening the attachment of immigrants to the receiving society. Apparently, this association depends more strongly on the respondents' skills in their mother tongue. I could not find substantial relationships between the respondents' social integration patterns and their ethnic background predicting their German or ethnic minority identification levels.

The two final hypotheses tested in this chapter were associated with the consequences of the number of years passed since immigration and generational status, for the effects of ethnic background on the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. While both indicators were expected to represent exposure to the dominant culture and thus higher subjective success probabilities from engaging in social mobility, the findings do not support this proposition.

In fact, contrary to my hypothesis, German identification levels of respondents from disadvantaged ethnic groups were higher among respondents affiliated with the first immigrant generation than among respondents affiliated with the second generation. Respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background were also found to hold lower levels of ethnic minority identification if affiliated with the first but not younger generations. To the contrary, among both Turkish and ex-Yugoslavian respondents, affiliation with the 1.5 generation is, as expected, associated with social mobility more than affiliation with the first

immigrant generation. In order to understand these patterns, a more intensive inquiry into the integration related attitudes and experiences of second and 1.5 generation immigrants, is required.

Compared with the former chapter, the findings described above apply better to the expected representation of the relations between motivation and subjective success probabilities. It thus provides more support for the proposed mechanisms underlying each of the indicators determining ethnic identification preferences among immigrants. One must however recall that my use of ethnic background in these analyses serves as a mere proxy for a perceived structural disadvantage of certain groups in the German society. In order to confirm these relations properly, one must inquire directly into these feelings of disadvantage among the respondents.

9. The Fourfold Typology of Acculturation: Predicting Respondents' Ethnic Identification Types

The previous three chapters were aimed to clarify the conditions under which the German and ethnic minority identification levels of immigrants and their descendents change. Specifically, they demonstrate that in part, the levels of identification of these individuals with both the German and their ethnic minority group can be explained by the risks and opportunities each group membership has in store for them. The chapters convey that although many of the conditions representing opportunities for one ethnic group identification also represent risks for the other, the identification patterns of the respondents do not always prescribe to a zero sum game logic. As suggested in the first empirical chapter, this finding implies that there are potentially more than two alternative patterns of ethnic identification observed among immigrants and immigrant descendent. In addition to the assimilation and separation patterns, individuals may also strongly identify with both the dominant and the minority ethnic group, or weakly identify with both (Berry 1997).

This chapter is directed to explore the ability of the theoretical model presented above, to account for the respondents' preferences between these four identification types: assimilation, represents respondents who strongly identify with the dominant majority and only weakly with their immigrant minority; separation, represents respondents who strongly identify with their immigrant minority and weakly with the dominant majority; marginalization represents respondents who identify weakly with both groups; and finally multiple-inclusion (integration) represents individuals who identify strongly with both groups.

The preferences respondents have for one type of ethnic identification or another are expected to differ based on the alternatives they have. For example while an individual may find the assimilation ethnic identification type better than marginalization, it may still opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type if the alternative ethnic identification type is separation. Each of these preferences is predicted to depend on the properties of the individual and on the nature of the intergroup context, and on the implications of these conditions to their German or ethnic minority identification levels.

There are six transitions emerging out of the four types of ethnic identification specified in the two-dimensional acculturation model: one can move between marginalization and separation, marginalization and assimilation, or marginalization and multiple-inclusion. One can also move between multiple-inclusion and separation, or multiple-inclusion and assimilation. Finally one can also move between separation and assimilation. The last transition corresponds to the one dimensional conceptualization of

ethnic identification discussed in the literature, ranging from low identification with the dominant ethnic group and high identification with the ethnic minority, to high identification with the dominant ethnic group, and low identification with the ethnic minority.

In each of the transitions the two alternative ethnic identification types differ in either the German or ethnic minority identification levels they imply. In some, both are different. For this reason, I expect transitions between the separation and marginalization ethnic identification types for example, to involve primarily those indicators found to be associated with the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. Both alternatives imply only low levels of identification with the German majority.

A close look on this specific transition implies the following hypotheses: starting with the respondents' investment motivations, respondents, who are members of disadvantaged ethnic minorities, and particularly Turkish, ex-Yugoslavian and east European nationals, are expected to show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with west European respondents. These individuals are predicted to have higher motivations to leave their disadvantaged group. For this reason, I expect respondents with Turkish ethnic background, but also ex-Yugoslavian or east European nationals to prefer marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type. This preference is not predicted to be found among individuals with south European ethnic background.

In terms of the respondents' cultural integration, language assimilation and marginalization are predicted to be associated with higher odds to opt for the marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type, because they imply lower levels of ethnic minority identification. Decreasing commitment to the ethnic heritage culture is also predicted to imply decreasing fit to this ethnic group, and will thus also lead to higher odds of the respondents to opt for the marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type.

Social assimilation and marginalization are similarly predicted to be associated with decreasing levels of ethnic minority identification. Both patterns imply weakening associations of the respondents with their ethnic minority and their weakening certainty in their in-group membership. Respondents demonstrating these social integration patterns are thus expected to dissociate from their immigrant minority and have higher odds to opt for the marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type, compared to the odds of respondents whose friends are primarily co-ethnics to do so.

It is important to note that bilingualism, and mixed friendship patterns were found to have no significant consequences for the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. For this reason, I do not expect

them to be meaningful for the respondents' preferences between the separation and marginalization ethnic identification types.

The respondents' generational status and the number of years passed since their immigration are also expected to explain their preferences between the separation and marginalization ethnic identification types. Theoretically, respondents affiliated with the younger generations are expected to demonstrate lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with first generation immigrants, due to their lower perceived fit to their ethnic minority. For this reason, I predict that respondents of the 1.5 and second generation will demonstrate higher odds to hold the marginalization ethnic identification type when the alternative is separation. Because the number of years passed since immigration is also associated with decreasing levels of ethnic minority identification, I expected that as it increases the respondents' odds to opt for marginalization will also increase.

Implying increasingly permeable intergroup boundaries and higher success probabilities from social mobility, maintenance of inter-ethnic contact will decrease the respondents' odds to opt for the separation over the marginalization ethnic identification type. Implying to the contrary increasingly impermeable intergroup boundaries, discrimination is expected to increase the respondents' odds to opt for the separation ethnic identification type over the marginalization one. One needs however to remember that in the models discussed in the previous chapters, discrimination had no significant effect on the respondents' ethnic minority identification. It is possible therefore that in this specific transition, discrimination will have no effect on the respondents' preferences.

Moving on to the respondents' structural integration, the previous findings revealed that respondents with high educational background demonstrate higher levels of ethnic minority identification compared with respondents with low educational background. This difference is most likely related with their higher ethnic awareness, as suggested by Ono (2002). Building on this conclusion, I expect that respondents with high educational background will show higher odds to opt for the separation and not the marginalization ethnic identification type. The previous models conveyed similar relationships between the respondents' educational degree and their ethnic minority identification levels. I therefore expect that respondents with high educational degree will show similar preferences.

Unlike the respondents' educational background or educational degree, their labor market status was found to imply decreasing dependency on the ethnic minority and increasing motivation to dissociate from it. I therefore expect that non-employed respondents will demonstrate higher odds to opt for the separation

and not the marginalization ethnic identification type. Respondents who are employed in intermediate or high status jobs are expected to show opposite patterns.

The second transition, between marginalization and assimilation, suggests a move between one ethnic identification type which implies high levels of German identification, and one which implies low levels of German identification. The respondents' levels of ethnic minority identification are low in both. For this reason, the transitions between the two options will be related primarily with indicators predicting changes in the respondents' German identification levels.

The first indicator predicted to shape the respondents' preference between the assimilation and marginalization ethnic identification types is as before the perceived status of the respondents ethnic group in the German society, associated with their social mobility investment motivation. Generally, members in one of the structurally disadvantaged immigrant minorities (Turks, ex-Yugoslavians, or east Europeans) were predicted to show higher motivations to invest in social mobility compared with members in the west European immigrant minority. Empirically, only membership in the ex-Yugoslavian minority was found to increase levels of German identification among the respondents.

Relying on the findings from the previous analysis and the theoretical arguments clearing them, membership in a disadvantaged group is here expected to imply higher odds of the respondents to opt for the assimilation over the marginalization ethnic identification type. This pattern is expected particularly among respondents with ex-Yugoslavian, or east European ethnic background. Among Turkish respondents, increasing their German identification levels as a form of social mobility is predicted to be less probable to succeed. Members of this group are therefore expected either not to differ from west European nationals in their ethnic identification preferences or, to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type. Because south European respondents were neither theoretically nor empirically found to demonstrate higher levels of German identification, I predict that they too will prefer the marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type.

Language and social integration are also expected to be important for the transitions between marginalization and assimilation. Particularly the assimilation and multiple-inclusion patterns of social and language integration are expected to play a central role determining the respondents' preferences here. Representing the respondents' investment motivations and/or their subjective success probabilities, language and social assimilation indicate that the respondents' cultural and social associations with the German group are strengthening while their associations with the ethnic minority are weakening.

Consequentially, respondents demonstrating these integration patterns are expected to be motivated to invest in social mobility and particularly, to increase their German identification. They will therefore show higher odds to opt for the assimilation over the marginalization ethnic identification type.

Representing the respondents' subjective success probabilities, language, and social multiple-inclusion were also expected to increase the respondents' German identification levels. Empirically however, only the former one was found to confirm these expectations. Accordingly, I expect bilingualism to be consequential also for the respondents' ethnic identification preferences between marginalization and assimilation. Specifically, respondents demonstrating bilingualism are expected to show higher odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over the marginalization one.

Remaining with the indicators of the respondents' subjective success probabilities, respondents affiliated with the younger generations are expected to demonstrate higher levels of German identification compared to those found among first generation immigrants. For this reason, they are also predicted to demonstrate higher odds to opt for assimilation over the marginalization ethnic identification type. Because the number of years passed since immigration is associated with increasing levels of German identification, I predict that as time passes the respondents' odds to opt the for assimilation ethnic identification type will also increase. As both effects were insignificant in the models discussed above, they may also not imply significant differences in this model.

Determining the permeability of the intergroup boundaries, inter-ethnic contact and discrimination are expected to be central to transitions between the marginalization and assimilation ethnic identification types. Both were also empirically found to exert an effect on the respondents German identification levels. Respondents, who maintain inter-ethnic contact, are expected to perceive their success probabilities to gain from social mobility as high because of the relatively permeable intergroup boundaries inter-ethnic contact implies. They are thus predicted to have higher odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification alternative. Discriminated respondents, for whom the permeability of the intergroup boundaries is predicted to be lower, are expected to demonstrate lower levels of German identification. They will therefore, to the contrary, have higher odds to opt for the marginalization over the assimilation ethnic identification type.

Like inter-ethnic contact, the educational background of the respondents, their educational degree and their labor market status, were predicted to be positively associated with their German identification levels. They too were understood to imply more permeable intergroup boundaries. Empirically however, I

did not find confirmation for this positive association. Educational background was not found to significantly contribute to the respondents' German identification. The direction of the effects of the dummies representing this indicator, were however in line with my expectations. I therefore predict that individuals with high educational background will show higher odds to opt for the assimilation and not the marginalization ethnic identification type. It is important to note that there is no contradiction between this hypothesis and the one made about the role of educational background in the former transition. Assuming a two dimensional ethnic identification, it is possible that one indicator, increases both the assimilation and separation ethnic identification types, depending on the alternative.

Rejecting my hypothesis, intermediate educational degree negatively predicts the respondents' German identification levels. Although insignificant, post secondary education had similar consequences. Based on these findings, respondents with intermediate or high educational degree are predicted to show higher odds to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type.

My expectations regarding the positive relations between the respondents' labor market status and their German identification levels were confirmed in the analyses conducted before. For this reason, I expect respondents who are not employed to have lower odds to opt for assimilation over the marginalization ethnic identification type. Additionally, the better the labor market status of those respondents who are employed is, the higher their odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over marginalization will be.

The third transition described above is between the marginalization and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type. This transition implies that the respondents' identification with both the German and their ethnic minority group are decreasing or increasing at the same time. For this reason it is also predicted to be relatively seldom. There are also only a limited set of indicators explaining the respondents' preferences between these two alternatives.

Turkish respondents were theoretically expected not to demonstrate clear preferences towards social mobility, due to the lower subjective success probabilities of such an investment, and the relatively high costs it implies for them. I hypothesize that Turkish respondents will therefore demonstrate higher odds to opt for the marginalization over the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type. Also among members of the other disadvantaged groups, the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type is less attractive. If they decide to engage in social mobility, holding on to their disadvantaged group membership will be of little

utility for them. It is exactly their need to renounce this disadvantaged aspect of their self-concept which is predicted to motivate their social mobility to begin with.

The only immigrant minority among which the opposite preference may be found is the south European one. Like west European respondents, they too may actually gain from multiple-inclusion. This pattern, will allow them to maintain their ethnic group identification, while also investing in membership in the German dominant group. Sharing a super-ordinate social category with the Germans, the multiple-inclusion alternative may also be cognitively less challenging for them.

The respondents' cultural and social integration patterns may also be consequential for the transitions between multiple-inclusion and marginalization. Specifically, language and social marginalization are expected to imply decreasing fit to both the German and the ethnic minority groups. Respondents holding these patterns of social or language integration are predicted to show higher odds to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type over the multiple-inclusion one. Language and social multiple-inclusion, will both allow the respondents to fit into both their ethnic minority and the German group. For this reason, these patterns of acculturation are predicted to increase the respondents' odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over marginalization. Decreasing commitment to the ethnic heritage culture is expected to increase the respondents' odds to dissociate from the ethnic minority. Since the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type implies high levels of ethnic minority identification it is expected to be less preferable among respondents demonstrating this decrease.

Given that respondents affiliated with the younger generation, are expected to perceive their fit to the ethnic minority as weaker than that of first generation respondents, I expect them to prefer the marginalization ethnic identification type over the multiple-inclusion one. These individuals' lower perceived fit to the German majority, compared with their German peers, also supports this preference. Increasing the respondents' exposure to the German society and decreasing their attachment to their ethnic origin, the number of years passed since immigration is not predicted to play a central role determining their preferences between the marginalization and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types.

Regarding the determinants of the intergroup context, I predict to find no differences in the respondents' preferences between the multiple-inclusion or marginalization ethnic identification types, related to the maintenance of inter-ethnic contact. Like the number of years passed since their immigration, inter-ethnic contact is predicted to increase the German identification levels of the respondents but decrease their ethnic minority identification levels. Thus, it cannot imply the parallel increase or decrease in both.

Because discrimination was, at least theoretically, predicted to similarly affect the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels in opposite ways, it too, is probably not useful determining the respondents' preferences between the marginalization and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. The findings presented in the former models suggested however that discrimination only decreases the respondents' German identification levels and does not increase their ethnic minority identification levels. Based on these findings, respondents who experienced discrimination are predicted to expect only low success probabilities from an investment in German identification. They will not have a lot to gain from the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type and will thus be more probable to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type instead.

As suggested above, educational background is found to increase both the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. The odds of respondents with high educational background to opt for the multiple-inclusion over the marginalization ethnic identification type are therefore predicted to be higher than those of respondents with low educational background. Implying opposite effects on the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels, their educational degree and labor market status are not expected to play a significant role determining the respondents' preferences between marginalization and multiple-inclusion.

The fourth transition explained in this chapter is between the separation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. Moves between these two alternatives are based on the different levels of German identification each implies. The respondents' ethnic minority identification levels remain in both ethnic identification types, high. The part the respondents' ethnic background is predicted to play in this transition is again different for the different immigrant minorities observed.

Among Turkish respondents, this transition suggests a choice between holding on to their ethnic minority identification, associated with a disadvantaged status, and investing in increasing their German identification while still keeping it. While both alternatives are only of low utility in terms of improving one's self-concept, the later represents the worse of the two. The multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type, implies not only the Turkish respondents' lasting high identification with their ethnic minority, but also their need to live with the cultural and normative contradictions existing between their Turkish ethnic identification, and the German one. I thus predict that Turkish respondents will be more likely to opt for the separation ethnic identification type over the multiple-inclusion one. Among respondents with ex-Yugoslavian or south European ethnic background, who are not expected to experience strong cultural

conflicts from a multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type, this ethnic identification type may be more attractive than separation.

Language and social assimilation are predicted to increase the respondents' odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion identification type over separation. Either increasing the respondents' motivations to invest in social mobility or only increasing their chances to succeed in this investment, both imply better returns to increasing German identification, and thus to multiple-inclusion. Although language and social marginalization were predicted to be associated primarily with the respondents' ethnic minority identification, the findings indicated that they also increase the respondents' German identification levels. In the context of the transition between separation and multiple-inclusion they are thus also predicted to increase the respondents' odds to opt for the later. Bilingualism and mixed friendship patterns also imply better success probabilities in gaining the utilities of German identification, and are thus similarly expected to make the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type the preferred one.

Respondents affiliated with the younger generations were theoretically expected to show higher levels of German identification compared with first generation immigrants. This is due to their higher comparative fit to this category. The findings did not confirm this hypothesis, and suggested that the differences between the generations in terms of ethnic identification preferences are more closely related to the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. Given that in the context of the transition between the separation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types this dimension of their ethnic identification remains stable, I do not predict that the respondents' generational status will be important for their preferences between these alternative.

The increasing levels of German identification associated with the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration imply that as years pass, the odds of respondents to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type will increase. Once again this is only true to the extent that the respondents maintain high levels of ethnic minority identification even in face of their decreasing association with their ethnic origin.

The perceived intergroup context is also predicted to be consequential for the respondents' preferences between the multiple-inclusion and separation ethnic identification types. Respondents, who maintain inter-ethnic contact, are expected to have lower odds to opt for the separation ethnic identification type compared with respondents who do not maintain them. Their German identification levels are expected to be higher. Discrimination is predicted to lead to the opposite outcome. Respondents who experienced

discrimination will demonstrate higher odds to opt for separation over the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type.

Still in the context of the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries, the respondents' educational background is predicted to increase their odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion over the separation ethnic identification type. This is due to the fact that this individual characteristic is associated with increasing both their ethnic minority and their German identification levels. The respondents' increasing educational degree was to the contrary found to decrease their German identification levels. In line with this underclass integration pattern, I predict that highly educated respondents will have lower odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type, compared to the odds of respondents with basic or lower education to opt for it.

Respondents, who are in non-employment, are expected to show higher odds to opt for the separation and not the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type. Their stronger dependency on the ethnic minority is predicted to imply relatively impermeable intergroup boundaries for them, decreasing their success probabilities to gain from social mobility. Perceiving these boundaries as more permeable, respondents whose labor market status is relatively high, are predicted to show higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type compared with individuals whose labor market status is low.

The next transition, between assimilation and multiple-inclusion implies constant high levels of German identification and different levels of ethnic minority identification. In the context of this transition, the relevance of the respondents' ethnic background is predicted to derive from their higher odds to prefer assimilation over multiple-inclusion due to their need to dissociate from their disadvantaged group. Although theoretically, I predicted that this need will be moderated among Turkish respondents, the findings in the former chapters demonstrated that also among these respondents, one would expect this variant of an investment in social mobility to occur. This hypothesis applies therefore to all immigration minorities but the south European one. Respondents with south European ethnic background, are in fact predicted to prefer the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over assimilation, as it will allow them to hold on to their ethnic minority identification.

The respondents' language and social integration patterns are also expected to be consequential for their preferences between the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. Language, as well as social assimilation, implies the respondents' decreasing associations with their ethnic minority. The odds of respondents, demonstrating language or social assimilation, to opt for the multiple-inclusion

ethnic identification type that requires them to demonstrate high ethnic minority identification levels, will therefore be lower than those of language or socially separated respondents. The same outcomes are also expected among respondents who are language or socially marginalized. The multiple-inclusion patterns of social and language integration are expected to increase the respondents' odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the assimilation one. Theoretically, they may imply an increase in their ethnic minority identification type. It is however important to remember that I did not find support for this theoretical expectation in previous analysis.

The extent of the respondents' commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage is also predicted to shape their preferences between the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. The less the respondents are committed to their ethnic culture, the higher their odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type will be.

Because respondents affiliated with the younger generations are predicted to show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with first generation respondents, they are also expected to show higher odds to opt for the assimilation and not the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type. The decreasing levels of ethnic minority identification associated with the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration are predicted to increase the respondents odds to opt for assimilation over the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type.

The role of inter-ethnic contact in determining the respondents' preferences between assimilation and multiple-inclusion is not predicted to be large. Generally, the respondents' odds to opt for both alternatives depend on their understanding of the intergroup boundaries as permeable, because both imply strong German identification levels. However, considering the findings from the previous chapter and the negative effect of inter-ethnic contact on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, Respondents, who maintain inter-ethnic contact, are expected to show higher odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type.

The decreasing levels of German identification associated with discrimination, imply that both the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types will not be desired among those who experienced it. However, having to choose between these two alternatives, respondents are predicted to opt for the multiple-inclusion over the assimilation ethnic identification type. This is due to the fact that at least theoretically, discrimination is predicted to increase their identification with the ethnic minority.

The theoretical propositions regarding the respondents' educational background imply that respondents with high educational background have higher levels of ethnic minority identification due to their increasing ethnic awareness. However, their higher educational background is also found to be associated with higher levels of German identification. Under these empirical conditions, it is predicted that respondents with high educational background, will have higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type.

As for the respondents' educational degree, its role determining the respondents' preferences between the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types is based on a different logic. The findings in the former chapters indicated that respondents with intermediate or high high-school degree or post secondary education show lower and not higher levels of German identification. This finding implies that they will not expect high gains from both the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. However, since higher education additionally implies higher levels of ethnic minority identification, highly educated respondents are predicted to show higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over assimilation.

The respondents' labor market status is predicted to lead respondents to opposite preferences. The propositions made in the theoretical model imply that respondents, who are in non-employment, will show lower odds to opt for the assimilation over the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type. These individuals are predicted to hold higher levels of ethnic minority identification, due to their perception of the permeability of the intergroup boundaries as low. Among employed respondents, those whose labor market status is relatively high are predicted to show higher odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type compared with individuals whose labor market status is low. This is due to their decreasing dependency on the ethnic minority and their lower levels of ethnic minority identification.

The last transition, between assimilation and separation is expected to be triggered by changes in both the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. While one increases, the other decreases. Within the context of this transition, the strong motivation of members of disadvantaged groups to engage in social mobility implies their higher odds to prefer the assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type. Theoretically, I would not expect to find this preference among Turkish respondents, who are predicted to find the social mobility investment challenging for their values and beliefs, and thus prefer to hold on to their ethnic minority identification. However, the empirical findings presented before, suggest that they may be found also among members of this immigrant minority.

Like membership in a disadvantaged ethnic group, the respondents' decreasing ability to maintain certainty regarding their ethnic group membership is also expected to increase their motivation to engage in social mobility. Either because of this motivational reason or due to the higher subjective success probabilities they imply, language as well as social assimilation will therefore imply the respondents' higher odds to opt for the assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type. Respondents, who are language or socially marginalized, will also demonstrate higher odds to opt for assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type compared with socially or language separated respondents, for similar reasons.

Respondents who are bilingual, or have mixed friendships, are also expected to show higher odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type, compared with language or socially separated respondents, due to their higher subjective success probabilities to gain the expected utilities from this move. As for the respondents' ethnic cultural commitment, I predict that as the respondents' commitment to their ethnic heritage culture will decrease, their ethnic minority identification levels will also decrease, pushing them towards the assimilation ethnic identification type.

Respondents affiliated with the younger generations were expected to hold lower levels of ethnic minority identification, and higher levels of German identification, compared with individuals from the first immigrant generation. While the later expectation was rejected in my previous analysis, the former was confirmed. If only because of their lower fit to the ethnic minority, respondents affiliated with the younger generations will have higher odds to opt for the assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type.

Theoretically, I expected that as the number of years passed since their immigration increases, the respondents will show higher levels of German identification, and lower levels of ethnic minority identification. Although the effects of the number of years passed since immigration were insignificant in the previous models, they did adhere to these expectations in their directions. I therefore predict that the respondents' odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type will increase with increasing number of years passing since their immigration.

The role of the perceived intergroup boundaries is predicted to be central for transitions between the assimilation and separation ethnic identification types. If these boundaries are perceived as permeable, social mobility in the form of increasing levels of German identification and decreasing levels of ethnic minority identification will be more probable to succeed. If they are impermeable, it would be less probable to succeed. Increasing the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries, inter-ethnic

contact is therefore predicted to increase the respondents' odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over separation. Decreasing it, discrimination will to the contrary predict their higher odds to opt for the separation ethnic identification type over assimilation.

The structural integration of the respondents was also theoretically associated with the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries. Specifically, a better structural position was predicted to imply more permeable intergroup boundaries, and higher subjective success probabilities from a social mobility investment. The empirical findings regarding the associations between the respondents' structural integration and their ethnic identification preferences provided only partial support for this hypothesis. Based on these findings, I predict first that educational background, found to increase the respondents German as well as ethnic minority identification levels, will not contribute significantly to the respondents preferences between the assimilation and separation ethnic identification types. Second, because respondents with intermediate or high education were found to demonstrate lower levels of German identification compared with respondents with only low education, I predict that these individuals will have lower odds to opt for the assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type.

In line with the theoretical expectations, the respondents' labor market status exerts similar effects to those found for the respondents' educational degree, but in opposite directions. Among respondents who are not employed, ethnic minority identification levels are higher than among respondents employed in low status jobs. Their German identification levels are lower. These individuals are assumed to feel more strongly dependent on their ethnic group, and to prefer therefore separation over the assimilation ethnic identification type. Among respondents who are enjoying advantaged labor market statuses, the assimilation ethnic identification type is predicted to be the preferred alternative. Perceiving the intergroup boundaries as permeable, these individuals demonstrate higher levels of German identification and lower levels of ethnic minority identification.

The hypotheses suggested above imply that the respondents' ethnic identification preferences are determined based on their status quo position and the expected utilities associated with maintaining or replacing it. These in turn, depend on the nature of the transition, in terms of the different German or ethnic minority identification levels it implies. A graphic presentation of these hypotheses is found in figure 9.1 below (reference categories are marked in Italic letters):

Figure 9.1: Summary of hypotheses predicting the respondents' ethnic identification preferences

	Separation as reference			Marginalization as reference		Assimilation as reference
	Ass.	MI.	Mar.	Ass	MI	MI
Second generation	+	0	+	+/0	-	-
1.5 generation	+	0	+	+/0	-	-
First generation						
Years passed since immigration	+	+	+	+/0	0	-
Turkey	-	-	+	-/0	-	-
Ex-Yugoslavia	+	+	+	+	-	-
East Europe	+	+	+	+	-	-
South Europe	0	0	-	-/0	+	+
West Europe						
Educational background (low)						
Educational background (inter.)	0	+	-	+	+	+
Educational background (high)	0	+	-	+	+	+
Educational degree (low)						
Educational degree (int. - high)	-	-	-	-	0	+
Educational degree (post sec.)	-	-	-	-	0	+
Not-employed	-	-	-	-	0	+
Low labor market status						
Intermediate labor market status	+	+	+	+	0	-
High labor market status	+	+	+	+	0	-
Language assimilation	+	+	+	+	0	-
Language multiple-inclusion	+	+	0	+	+	+
Language marginalization	+	+	+	0	-	-
Language separation						
Ethnic cultural commitment	+	0	+	0	-	-
Social assimilation	+	+	+	+	0	-
Social multiple-inclusion	+	+	0	+	+	+
Social marginalization	+	+	+	0	-	-
Social separation						
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	+	+	+	+	+/0	-
Inter-ethnic contact (no)						
Discrimination (yes)	-	-	-	-	-/0	+
Discrimination (no)						

9.1 Data and methods

The data set

The hypotheses specified above, will be tested using once again a subsample drawn from the German Socioeconomic panel. The GSOEP does not include a direct measure of the four identification types described above. I therefore created them myself based on the two ethnic identification indicators it does include, used in the previous chapters too.

The construction of the dependent variable in this manner forces me to limit the inquiry attempted here to the four waves in which the indicator for the respondents' ethnic minority identification was included, namely 1997 to 2003. The sample I am using for the analysis conducted in this chapter is therefore selected based on similar properties to those according to which the ethnic minority identification sample drawn for the previous chapters was selected. One difference between the sample used here and the one used earlier is that in the current sample respondents were excluded both if they were missing on the German or the ethnic minority identification indicators. This additional requirement, limited the sample size to 2016 respondents, making 6328 person year cases.

The similarities between the sample used here and that used for the prediction of the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels dismiss the need to present the same description again. Instead it is only important to note that in this sample, the mean level of the respondents' German identification is 2.61 (1.13), which is slightly higher than the one found in the six waves sample used earlier. The mean level of ethnic minority identification in the sample is like before 3.72 (0.95).

In order to construct the new dependent variable I incorporated the information about the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels into one single variable. First, I divided the respondents between high identifiers, marking the values of 4 or 5 in both ethnic identification items, and low identifiers, marking the values of 1, 2, or 3, in them. Second, I coded the different combinations of high and low identifiers on both ethnic identification indicators, into the fourfold typology of acculturation. Low identifiers on both indicators were coded as marginalized; high identifiers on both indicators were coded as holding the multiple-inclusion variant; respondents demonstrating low ethnic minority identification and high German identification, were coded as assimilationists, and those demonstrating the opposite patterns were coded as separationists.

The distribution of the respondents across the different identification types is presented in table 9.1 below. The table is divided into cells according to the coding used to discriminate the different identification types. The cells marked with a thick line represent those respondents who were coded as marginalized. Those marked with the dashed line represent respondents coded as assimilated. The wave shaped line cells include respondents who are coded as separated, and the double line cells include respondents demonstrating the multiple-inclusion identification type.

Interestingly, most of the respondents are represented in the separation and marginalization ethnic identification types with 54 and 26 per cent respectively. The large number of respondents categorized in

the marginalization ethnic identification type is a direct result of the relatively high number of respondents marking the value of three on both ethnic identification scales.[33] In line with my expectations, the smallest group of respondents clusters into the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type (6 per cent).

Table 9.1: Respondents' distribution across the German and ethnic identification items

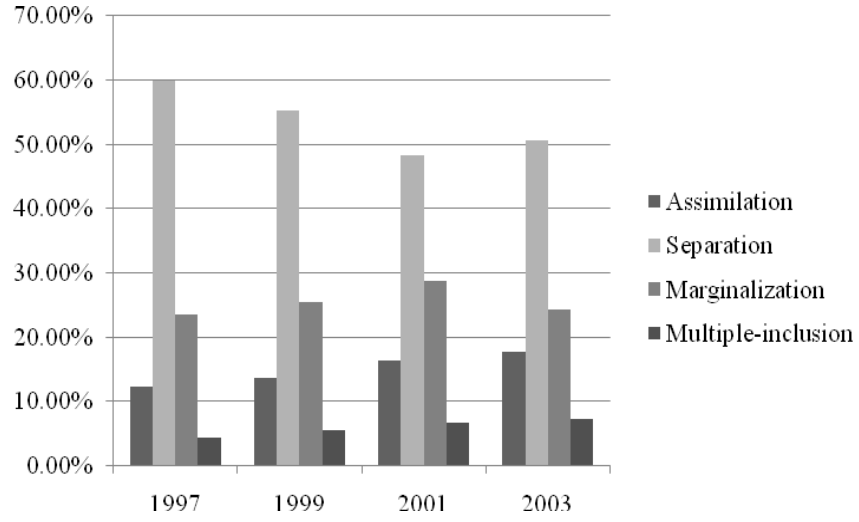
	Ethnic identification levels:				
German identification levels:	Not at all	Barely	In some respects	Mostly	Completely
Not at all	0.32%	0.41%	1.60%	5.96%	12.56%
Barely	0%	0.79%	3.50%	13%	5.80%
In some respects	0.06%	2.04%	16.90%	12.31%	3.78%
Mostly	0.27%	2.97%	8.06%	3.76%	0.93%
Completely	0.73%	1.60%	1.37%	0.84%	0.47%

(source: GSOEP 1997-2003)

Figure 9.2 below, presents the distribution of the respondents according to these identification types, across the waves of the survey. While the dominance of the separation identification type is maintained throughout the sample, the number of respondents holding this type of identification decreases with time. Interestingly, the number of respondents represented in the assimilation or multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types increases. The marginalization ethnic identification type gains in size until 2001, and drops again in 2003.

[33] I refer to the value of 3 as a weak and not strong identification marker because theoretically, only individuals who are strongly identified with both cultures are considered as included in both. However, I also ran parallel analyses where the category 3 was used to define high identification. Most of the effects reported below where also found in these alternative models.

Figure 9.2: Respondents' distribution according to the different ethnic identification types across the sample waves



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003)

The main goal of this chapter is to clarify the respondents' preferences between the four ethnic identification types based on the same indicators used to predict their German and ethnic minority identification levels separately. A preliminary idea regarding the associations between the indicators listed above and the different ethnic identification types demonstrated by the respondents can be found in table 9.2.

The table reveals first that among respondents holding an assimilation ethnic identification type, the two largest immigrant minorities are from east and west Europe. Respondents with Turkish, ex-Yugoslavian, or south European ethnic background are less likely to hold an assimilation ethnic identification type, and more likely to hold the marginalization and separation ethnic identification types. East European respondents represent the largest immigrant minority in the marginalization ethnic identification type. West European respondents, represent the largest immigrant minority in the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type.

Respondents affiliated with the second generation compose the largest group in the assimilation, multiple-inclusion, and marginalization ethnic identification types. They are the least represented in the separation ethnic identification type. Respondents affiliated with the 1.5 generation, are the least represented in the multiple-inclusion identification type.

Table 9.2: Respondents' distributions across the different indicators according to ethnic identification

	Assimilation	Separation	Marginalization	Multiple-inclusion
Country of origin				
Turkey	11.03%	55.60%	29.98%	3.38%
Ex Yugoslavia	19.50%	45.55%	28.74%	6.22%
South Europe	15.60%	58.41%	19.95%	6.04%
West Europe	21.18%	40.97%	14.58%	23.26%
East Europe	22.31%	41.15%	30.38%	6.15%
Other	8.21%	55.56%	27.54%	8.70%
Generational status				
First generation	10.22%	61.07%	22.91%	5.80%
1.5 generation	20.94%	46.06%	28.14%	4.86%
Second generation	27.87%	31.73%	33.21%	7.19%
Years since immigration	24 (8.12)	22.78 (9.78)	23.51 (8.84)	24.73 (9.14)
Educational background				
Low	11.14%	59.52%	25.03%	4.32%
Intermediate	18.40%	45.98%	28.50%	7.11%
High	23.07%	43.60%	23.88%	9.45%
Educational degree				
Basic high-school or less	13.09%	56.84%	25.15%	4.92%
Inter. or higher high school	21.13%	44.93%	26.20%	7.73%
Post secondary education	15.83%	44.12%	28.06%	11.99%
Labor market status				
Not employed	12.97%	57.69%	24.22%	5.12%
Low labor market status	12.88%	57.74%	24.96%	4.42%
Int. labor market status	18.90%	43.08%	30.15%	7.87%
High labor market status	22.61%	40.31%	26.36%	10.72%
Self employed	26.32%	26.32%	42.11%	5.26%
Language integration				
Assimilation	34.11%	27.77%	30.31%	7.81%
Separation	6.85%	68.70%	20.56%	3.89%
Marginalization	5.96%	65.04%	26.56%	2.44%
Multiple-inclusion	16.39%	46.15%	25.67%	11.79%
Ethnic cultural commitment	3.15 (0.75)	2.44 (0.75)	2.70 (0.73)	2.97 (0.71)
Social integration				
Assimilation	29.07%	35.90%	23.27%	11.76%
Separation	7.78%	64.65%	23.69%	3.87%
Marginalization	12.86%	40.00%	34.29%	12.86%
Multiple-inclusion	16.02%	46.57%	32.35%	5.06%
Inter-ethnic contact				
Yes	17.07%	49.35%	26.77%	6.82%
No	3.68%	75.56%	19.22%	1.53%
Discrimination				
Yes	10.73%	58.18%	27.05%	4.03%
No	18.33%	49.66%	24.47%	7.55%
Per cent of total sample	15.00%	53.40%	25.60%	6.01%

(source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

They are more likely to hold the separation ethnic identification type. Respondents of the first generation have the lowest chances to be found in the assimilation identification type. They are more likely to hold a separation ethnic identification type.

Respondents with intermediate or high educational background are more likely to be found in the assimilation, and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types compared with respondents with low educational background. To the contrary, respondents with low educational background are more likely to be found in the separation ethnic identification type compared with respondents with intermediate or high educational background. Similar patterns can also be observed among respondents who themselves hold only low levels of education. Respondents with intermediate or high educational degree are represented more in the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types than respondents with only basic high school or lower educational degree.

With regard to the respondents' labor market status, table 9.2 indicates that not employed respondents and those who enjoy only a low labor market status, are the largest groups in the separation ethnic identification type. Respondents with an intermediate or high labor market status are represented more in the assimilation, marginalization, and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types.

Respondents, who are better skilled in the German language than in their mother tongue, are more represented in the assimilation and marginalization identification types compared with respondents demonstrating other language integration patterns. Bilingual respondents compose the largest group in the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type. Respondents, who are better skilled in their mother tongue, compose the largest group in the separation ethnic identification type. Language marginalization is associated primarily with the separation ethnic identification type. However, respondents demonstrating this pattern of language integration also represent the largest group in the marginalization ethnic identification type.

Unlike language marginalization, social marginalization represents only a small minority of the respondents. Like respondents who are language marginalized, those who are socially marginalized are also primarily found in the separation ethnic identification type. Compared to respondents demonstrating other patterns of social integration these individuals compose the largest group in the marginalization ethnic identification type. Mixed friendship patterns are found to increase the respondents' chances to be represented in the marginalization or separation ethnic identification types. Interestingly, respondents demonstrating this social integration pattern are not the largest group within the multiple-inclusion ethnic

identification type. Among respondents holding the assimilation ethnic identification type, socially assimilated respondents, represent the largest group. Among those holding the separation ethnic identification type, most respondents demonstrate social separation.

Finally, most of the respondents in the assimilation ethnic identification type, maintain inter-ethnic contact. The share of respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact in the marginalization ethnic identification type is also large. The smallest proportion of respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact is found in the separation ethnic identification type. Discriminated respondents are found more often in the separation or marginalization ethnic identification types. Compared with respondents who did not experience discrimination, they are less likely to be found in the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types.

The description in table 9.2 also suggests that the statistical inference associated with the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type should be done with caution because of the relatively small number of respondents holding it. The distribution of respondents with different educational degrees across the four ethnic identification types is also challenging to the extent that only a very small number of respondents holds post secondary education and the assimilation ethnic identification type (66 person year cases). Similarly, the variance in the inter-ethnic contact indicator suggests that a very small number of respondents do not maintain inter-ethnic contact and holds an assimilation ethnic identification type.

Additionally the table demonstrates that the number of respondents with west as well as east European ethnic origin, and also of those included in the 'other' category is especially low (288, 260 and 207 respectively). Even if these numbers are not alarming as they are, they limit my ability to infer regarding the effect of ethnic background on the respondents ethnic identification preferences because of the low number of respondents from these groups included in the different ethnic identification types. These three ethnic background categories were therefore grouped together to represent one category.

In the models to follow I will use the south European ethnic background category as a reference group, to which the other two 'traditional' labor migrant groups will be compared. The newly created 'rest' category is also included in the model for control. Since my theoretical propositions assumes that the south European group resembles the west European one, the comparison between this group and the other two implies the same consequences. Comparing the results of the models described below including the new ethnic background categories, with models in which the five ethnic background groups were

included, I found no meaningful differences between them (see appendix 8 for the models including all ethnic background groups).

Another limitation of the data is represented in the distribution of the social integration categories, and particularly, the small number of respondents demonstrating a marginal social integration pattern. Altogether, there are 70 person year cases included in this category, among which some nine cases are found in the assimilation ethnic identification type and only 28 are found in the marginalization ethnic identification type. Unfortunately, there is very little theoretical sense in grouping these individuals together with any of the other three patterns of social integration. I therefore chose to include these respondents in the missing dummy. This way, they will not interfere in the theoretically guided comparison between the other social integration categories and the reference group.

While this short description provides rich information about the relations between the indicators and the different ethnic identification types, its ability to account for the causal relations between them is limited. In order to overcome some of these limitations, I move on next to present findings from the multinomial logistic regression models predicting the respondents' odds to hold each of the different identification types. Before the findings from these models are presented, I shortly discuss their methodological advantages and disadvantages. After the presentation of the findings I also provide a short summary discussing their theoretical, empirical and practical consequences.

The Method

The categorical nature of the dependent variable in this chapter does not fit to the OLS regression models used above, but rather requires the use of a multinomial logistic regression. To the best of my knowledge, there is, to date, no program which allows an estimation of fixed effects using such a model. One way to deal with this limitation is to decompose the multinomial model into a set of logistic regressions representing the different reference and target categories. The relative gains of this approach over a pooled multinomial regression are however still questionable (Allison 2009). The decomposition approach additionally implies the loss of cases which could be included in a pooled multinomial regression. For these reasons, I have decided to use pooled multinomial regressions for my own analysis. Unlike the outcomes of the hybrid logistic regressions, those of the pooled multinomial regression are subjected to unobserved heterogeneity related bias (Mood 2009).

a multinomial logistic regression is a regression model commonly used for nominal outcomes. It is based on a similar logic to that applied for a dichotomous outcome variable, that is however adapted for more

than two alternatives. As formula 9.1 demonstrates, it can be understood as a simultaneous estimation of a binary logit for all possible comparisons among the alternatives included in the dependent categorical variable. Assuming that the dependent variable takes on three categories M, W, P, the following model emerges:

(9.1) $$\ln\left\{\frac{Pr(P|x)}{Pr(M|x)}\right\} = \beta_{0,P|M} + \beta_{1,P|M}x_i$$

$$\ln\left\{\frac{Pr(W|x)}{Pr(M|x)}\right\} = \beta_{0,W|M} + \beta_{1,W|M}x_i$$

$$\ln\left\{\frac{Pr(P|x)}{Pr(w|x)}\right\} = \beta_{0,P|w} + \beta_{1,P|w}x_i$$

Because ln a/b = ln a-lnb, it is also necessarily the case that

(9.2) $$\ln\left\{\frac{Pr(P|x)}{Pr(M|x)}\right\} - \ln\left\{\frac{Pr(W|x)}{Pr(M|x)}\right\} = \ln\left\{\frac{Pr(P|x)}{Pr(w|x)}\right\}$$

Therefore, with J alternatives, only J-1 alternatives are being estimated in a multinomial regression (notation taken from: Long and Freeze 2006).

9.2 Findings

In the following analysis I have calculated three different multinomial logistic regression models using the separation, marginalization, and assimilation ethnic identification types as references. This strategy allows me to refer to each of the transitions described above separately and test the hypotheses presented.[34] Table 9.3 presents the findings from these different models. The final lines of the table give a description of the properties of the models. Because I am using the Huber White Sandwich option to obtain cluster correlated robust estimates of variance (Wooldridge 2002), I do not report the likelihood ratio test results, but rather those of the Wald test.

[34] There was no need to also compute a model where multiple-inclusion is omitted because the relevant relations are accounted for using the other three models.

In addition to the indicators described above, the models included missing dummy variables in indicators in which they represented 5 per cent or more of the respondents, to control for possible biases caused by missing values. In the sample used here, these indicators were educational background and degree, the number of years passed since immigration and the social integration patterns of the respondents. Additionally, the years of the survey were included to control for possible period effects. Among the missing dummy variables, I find that respondents, who are missing on the indicator for social integration, demonstrate higher odds to opt for the assimilation over the separation and marginalization ethnic identification types, compared with socially separated respondents.

Among the wave dummies, I find that compared with the preferences of respondents participating in the survey in 1997, participation in the 2001 wave implies lower odds to opt for the separation ethnic identification type over all other alternatives. Participation in the 2003 wave increases the respondents' odds to opt for the assimilation or multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types over separation. Both findings speak for the association already suggested in the previous chapters between the changes occurring in the German immigration policy and naturalization laws between 1999 and 2000, and the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. The respondents' gender is also controlled for in the models but it had no significant effect in any of them.

Transitions between separation and marginalization correspond as expected primarily to differences in the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. Thus, I find that respondents affiliated with the younger generations, have higher odds to opt for the marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type. For respondents affiliated with the second generation, this increase was also significant (b^{exp}=1.98). Similarly, as the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration increases, so do their odds to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type over the separation one (b^{exp}=1.01). Both findings suggest that with increasing exposure, the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels decrease, decreasing their odds to hold a separation ethnic identification type.

Also in line with my expectations, I find that the odds of respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background to opt for marginalization are higher than those of respondents with south European ethnic background (b^{exp}=2.15). The same effect is also found among members of the 'rest' category (b^{exp}=1.82). Interestingly, Turkish respondents once again demonstrate social mobility in the form of dissociating from their ethnic minority although their subjective success probabilities to gain from this investment were predicted to be low, and the costs involved in it, high (b^{exp}= 2.25).

In line with my hypotheses, I find that the odds of respondents demonstrating language assimilation, to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type over separation were higher than those of language separated respondents (b^{exp}=2.01). Similar patterns were also found among respondents demonstrating language marginalization (b^{exp}=1.43). Bilingualism is also associated with increasing odds to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type. However, the difference between the odds of respondents demonstrating this language integration pattern and those who are language separated, to opt for this alternative over the separation ethnic identification type is not significant. As expected, with the decreasing commitment of the respondents to their ethnic heritage culture, their odds to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type over separation increase (b^{exp}=1.44).

Findings related to the respondents' social integration are similar to those found for their language integration patterns. Respondents who are socially assimilated, show higher odds to opt for the marginalization and not the separation ethnic identification type compared with respondents who are socially separated (b^{exp}=1.36). Due to the low number of cases, I could not test whether the same is also true for social marginalization. Interestingly however, the odds of respondents demonstrating social multiple-inclusion to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type over the separation one were also higher than those of respondents who are socially separated (b^{exp}=1.54). This finding suggests that respondents, whose friendship patterns are mixed, expect lower costs from their social mobility related investment, compared to socially separated individuals.

Of the two intergroup context indicators, inter-ethnic contact is as expected associated with increasing odds to opt for marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type (b^{exp}=1.57). The odds of respondents, who experienced discrimination to opt for marginalization over the separation ethnic identification type, are lower than those of respondents who did not experience it. This effect is however not significant.

The effects of both education related indicators on the respondents' preferences between the separation and marginalization ethnic identification types were insignificant at the 0.05 level. Looking at the direction of the effects I find that the odds of respondents holding an intermediate educational background to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type over the separation one are higher than those of respondents with only low educational background. The opposite is true for respondents with high educational background. This finding may again confirm the idea of ethnic awareness already discussed before. Only if the respondents' educational background is exceptionally high, it increases separation tendencies among them. It is interesting that with regard to the respondents' educational degree, this

pattern is not maintained. In fact, here the odds of respondents who are highly educated to opt for marginalization are higher and not lower than those of respondents with low educational degree. Among those holding an intermediate educational degree, they are lower.

Moving on to the respondents' labor market status, I find first, that the odds of not employed respondents, to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type over the separation one, are higher compared with the odds of respondents employed in low status jobs to demonstrate this preference. The difference between the two groups is insignificant. Respondents with intermediate labor market status, demonstrate the same preferences. The difference between respondents holding low and intermediate labor market statuses is significant (b^{exp}=1.33).

The next transition, describes moves between the marginalization and assimilation ethnic identification types. The findings suggest that the respondents' generational status does not contribute significantly to their preferences between the marginalization and the assimilation ethnic identification types. This finding is probably related to the fact that respondents affiliated with the younger generations do not differ from first generation immigrants in their German identification levels. The number of years passed since the respondents' immigration also has no effect on the respondents' preferences between these two alternatives.

With regard to the respondents' ethnic background, the findings confirm the predictions made above. Specifically, I find that the odds of respondents with Turkish as well as ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over marginalization are lower than those found among respondents with south European ethnic background. For the former, the effect is also significant (b^{exp}=0.71). These findings support my theoretical expectations and the findings presented in the previous chapters, to the extent that the preferences of the Turkish respondents do not imply an investment in social mobility, through increasing their German identification levels.

The associations between the respondents' language and social integration and their preferences between the assimilation ethnic identification type and the marginalization one, also confirm my hypothesis. The odds of respondents who are language or socially assimilated to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over marginalization are higher than those of respondents who are language or socially separated (b^{exp}=2.53 and 2.02 respectively).

Unexpectedly, the odds of respondents who are language marginalized to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over marginalization are lower than those found among respondents who are language

separated (b^{exp}=0.69). I additionally find that the respondents' odds to opt for the assimilation over the marginalization ethnic identification type increase with their decreasing commitment to their ethnic cultural heritage (b^{exp}=1.66). Both findings confirm that by culturally dissociating from their ethnic minority, respondents do not only experience decreasing levels of identification with it, but also increasing levels of identification with the alternative ethnic group available for them, namely the German one.

As expected, inter-ethnic contact and discrimination are both found to be meaningful determining the respondents' preferences between the assimilation and marginalization ethnic identification types. Specifically, the odds of respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over the marginalization one are higher than those of respondents who do not maintain it (b^{exp}=1.83). Correspondingly, the odds of respondents who experienced discrimination to opt for assimilation over the marginalization ethnic identification type are lower compared to those of respondents who did not experience it (b^{exp}=0.65). Both findings confirm that with increasing perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries, the respondents' German identification levels increase, encouraging them to pursue social mobility.

In line with my hypothesis, the odds of respondents with intermediate and high educational background to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over the marginalization one are higher than those of respondents with only low educational background. Although insignificant, this finding confirms my dependency proposition to the extent that with high structural status, respondents are more probable to engage in social mobility. As expected, this proposition is rejected in the case of the association between the respondents' educational degree and their ethnic identification type. Here, the odds of respondents with post secondary education to prefer assimilation over the marginalization ethnic identification type are lower than those of low educated respondents (b^{exp}=0.52). The same pattern is also found for respondents with intermediate education, however this effect is insignificant.

The findings regarding the respondents' labor market status challenge my hypothesis regarding its associations with their preferences between the assimilation and marginalization ethnic identification types. They suggest that the respondents' labor market status hardly plays a role in them. One interpretation of this finding is that the respondents' labor market status is less important for this transition because it is less important for the respondents' German identification levels. However the findings presented in the previous chapters implies the opposite.

The third transition describes the respondents' preferences between the marginalization and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. The findings related to this transition imply first that the odds of respondents affiliated with the second and the 1.5 generations to prefer the marginalization ethnic identification type over multiple-inclusion are lower than those found among first generation immigrants (b^{exp}=0.57 and 0.54 respectively). They also indicate that as the years since immigration pass, respondents have higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type and not the marginalization one (b^{exp}=1.03).

As hypothesized earlier, the odds of respondents with Turkish ethnic background to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the marginalization one are found to be lower compared to the odds of respondents with south European ethnic background to do so (b^{exp}=0.56). The same preference is found among respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background however, this effect is not significant.

The odds of language marginalized respondents to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over marginalization, were as expected, lower than those of respondents who are language separated (b^{exp}=0.50). I also find that the odds of respondents with language as well as social assimilation patterns to opt for multiple-inclusion over the marginalization ethnic identification type, are higher compared to those of language or socially separated respondents (b^{exp}=1.56 and 1.50 respectively). Similar patterns are also found among bilingual respondents (b^{exp}=1.81). Respondents with mixed friendship patterns show to the contrary lower odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type (b^{exp}=0.62). Rejecting my expectations, with decreasing preference for the ethnic heritage culture, the odds of respondents to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the marginalization one, slightly increase and not decrease. This effect is however not significant.

Additionally, I find that the odds of respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over marginalization are, as expected, higher than those of respondents who do not maintain them (b^{exp}=1.20). The odds of respondents who experienced discrimination to opt for the multiple-inclusion alternative are to the contrary lower compared with those who did not experience it (b^{exp}=0.60).

Finally, the findings also demonstrate that there are no significant differences in the odds of respondents with different levels of educational background, or educational degree, to prefer the multiple-inclusion or marginalization ethnic identification types. The same is also true for the respondents' labor market status. While the findings related with the later two indicators fit to my hypotheses, I was expecting respondents

with high educational background to show higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the marginalization one. The direction of the odds ratio for this indicator, presented in table 9.3, is in line with this expectation.

The fourth transition is between the separation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. This transition involves primarily differences in the respondents' levels of German identification. The respondents' levels of ethnic minority identification remain high in both ethnic identification types. The dominating role of the respondents' German identification in this transition may explain why the respondents' generational status is not found to have a significant effect on the respondents' preferences between the two alternatives it referrers to. In line with my hypothesis, the respondents' odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the separation one are found to increase with the number of years passed since their immigration (b^{exp}=1.04).

With regard to the respondents' ethnic background, the findings also provide support for the hypotheses made above. Respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background show higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type (b^{exp}=1.59). This finding implies that they show higher motivations to invest in social mobility compared with south European respondents. Although Turkish respondents also demonstrate higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the separation one, this effect is insignificant, implying as predicted, that for the Turkish respondents, the formation of a clear preference between these two alternatives is more challenging.

As expected, the odds of respondents, who are language and socially assimilated to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over separation were higher than those found among respondents who are language or socially separated (b^{exp}=3.14 and 2.03 respectively). The same pattern is also found among respondents who are bilingual or have mixed friendship patterns, however only for the former case the effect was significant (b^{exp}=2.25). I did not find indication for the predicted effect of language marginalization on the respondents' preferences between these two alternative ethnic identification types.

The respondents' odds to opt for multiple-inclusion over the separation ethnic identification type increase with their decreasing commitment to their heritage culture (b^{exp}=1.58). Once again, this effect implies that decreasing commitment to the heritage culture is not associated exclusively with the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels.

I also find support for my hypotheses regarding the effect of the intergroup context on the respondents' preferences between the separation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. The odds of

respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the separation one are higher than those found among respondents who do not maintain them (b^{exp}=3.13). The odds of respondents, who experienced discrimination to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type and not the separation type, are correspondingly, lower (b^{exp}=0.57).

I find no indication for a significant contribution of both education related indicators, to the respondents' preferences between the multiple-inclusion and the separation ethnic identification types. The direction of the effects found goes however in line with my hypotheses. The odds of respondents with intermediate or high educational background to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the separation one were higher than those of respondents with only low educational background. Contrary to my expectations, respondents with post secondary education show similar preferences.

Also rejecting my predictions, I find that the odds of respondents, who are not employed to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over separation, are slightly higher than those of respondents who are employed in low status jobs. Confirming my predictions, the same pattern is found among respondents who are employed in relatively better jobs. The differences between the low and the intermediate status categories (both employed) were significant (b^{exp}=1.54).

The next transition represents moves between assimilation and multiple-inclusion. There are very few respondents who are found to go through transitions between these two alternative ethnic identification types. Among them, the odds of respondents who are affiliated with both the second and 1.5 generations to opt for the multiple-inclusion over the assimilation ethnic identification type are found to be lower than those of first generation immigrants (b^{exp}=0.62, and 0.55). This finding corresponds to the lower levels of ethnic minority identification held by respondents affiliated with the younger generations.

The findings presented in table 9.3 do not indicate any significant differences in the odds ratio of respondents from different immigrant minorities to opt for the assimilation or multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. However, looking at the direction of the effects, they imply that the odds of respondents with Turkish or ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over assimilation are lower than those of south European respondents. These effects can be explained by these respondents' lower ethnic minority identification levels. To the contrary, members of the 'rest' category demonstrate higher odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the separation one (b^{exp}=1.73).

The odds of respondents who are language or socially assimilated to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the assimilation one are found, as expected, to be lower compared with those of respondents who are language or socially separated. The difference is however only significant for the language assimilation indicator (b^{exp}=0.62). I additionally find that the odds of respondents with mixed friendship patterns to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the assimilation one are significantly lower than those of respondents who are socially separated (b^{exp}=0.65). Thus, the respondents' friendships with Germans not only imply higher German identification levels, but also lower levels of ethnic minority identification. The effect of language marginalization was insignificant, but as predicted, negative. As can be expected, the respondents' decreasing commitment to their heritage culture, is found to significantly decrease their odds to opt for the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type over the assimilation one (b^{exp}=0.66).

With regard to the indicators measuring the perceived permeability of the inter-group boundaries, I first find, as expected, that the role of the intergroup context in the transitions between multiple-inclusion and assimilation is rather moderate. The differences between respondents who do or do not maintain inter-ethnic contact, or who were or were not discriminated against, in their preferences between the multiple-inclusion and assimilation ethnic identification types, are insignificant. Unexpectedly, the same also applies for the respondents' educational background, educational degree, and labor market status.

The findings from the last transition modeled between the separation and assimilation ethnic identification types indicate first, that with increasing exposure over generations or years, the odds of respondents to opt for assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type increase. These trends are significant among respondents affiliated with the second generation (b^{exp}=1.83), and for the number of years passed since immigration (b^{exp}=1.02). The findings also show some support for my hypotheses regarding the respondents' ethnic background. Specifically, the odds of Turkish as well as ex-Yugoslavian nationals to opt for the assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type are higher compared to the odds of respondents with a south European ethnic background to do so (b^{exp}=1.60 and 1.95). Once again, I find that although theoretically social mobility was predicted to be challenging for Turkish respondents, these challenges do not hinder their dissociation from their ethnic minority.

As expected, the odds of respondents who are language or socially assimilated, to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over the separation one were higher than those of respondents who are language or socially separated (b^{exp}=5.10 and 2.74 respectively). The same patterns were also found among bilingual respondents and those who have mixed friendship patterns (b^{exp}=1.68 and 1.49). I do not find

significant differences in the preferences of language marginalized respondents between the two. The findings additionally indicate that with decreasing commitment to the respondents' heritage culture, their odds to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over separation increase (b^{exp}=2.39).

Respondents, for whom the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries is higher, also demonstrate higher odds to opt for the assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type. Specifically, the odds of respondents who maintain inter-ethnic contact to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type, are higher than those of respondents who do not maintain them (b^{exp}=2.89). The odds of respondents who experienced discrimination to opt for the assimilation over the separation ethnic identification type are correspondingly lower than those of respondents who did not experience it (b^{exp}=0.63).

Of the three structural integration indicators, only the respondents' educational degree was found to imply significant differences between the respondents in terms of their preferences between the assimilation and separation ethnic identification types. Specifically, the odds of respondents with intermediate or high high-school education to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type over separation were as expected, lower than those holding only basic high-school or lower educational degree (b^{exp}=0.73).

Table 9.3: Odds ratios (SE) from the multinomial regression models predicting the respondents' ethnic identification types

	Separation as reference			Marginalization as reference			Assimilation as reference		
	Ass.	MI.	Mar.	Ass	MI	Sep	MI	Sep	Mar
female	1.21	1.00	1.01	1.19	0.10	0.99	0.83	0.83	0.84
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Male	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Second generation	1.83***	1.13	1.98***	0.92	0.57**	0.50***	0.62*	0.55***	1.08
	(0.32)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.18)
1.5 generation	1.18	0.65	1.21	0.98	0.54*	0.83	0.55*	0.85	1.02
	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.15)	(0.123)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.19)
First generation	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Years passed since	1.02***	1.04***	1.01*	1.01	1.03**	0.99*	1.01	0.98***	0.10
immigration	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.005)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.005)	(0.01)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Turkey	1.60**	1.27	2.25***	0.71*	0.56**	0.44***	0.79	0.62**	1.41*
	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.04)	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.20)
Ex-Yugoslavia	1.95***	1.59*	2.15***	0.91	0.73	0.46***	0.81	0.51***	1.10
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.05)	(0.16)	(0.08)	(0.17)
Rest	1.44	2.50***	1.82***	0.79	1.37	0.55***	1.73*	0.70	1.26
	(0.32)	(0.63)	(0.31)	(0.17)	(0.34)	(0.09)	(0.42)	(0.15)	(0.27)
Southern Europe	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational background (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational background (inter.)	1.21	1.22	1.17	1.03	1.04	0.85	1.01	0.83	0.97
	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.13)
Educational background (high)	1.04	1.14	0.79	1.33	1.45	1.27	1.09	0.967	0.75
	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.11)	(0.22)	(0.31)	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.16)	(0.12)
Educational degree (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational degree (inter. high)	0.73*	0.83	0.87	0.84	0.95	1.15	1.14	1.37*	1.19
	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.16)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.66	1.02	1.27	0.52**	0.80	0.79	1.54	1.51	1.91**
	(0.17)	(0.27)	(0.24)	(0.136)	(0.22)	(0.15)	(0.44)	(0.39)	(0.46)
Not-employed	1.12	1.09	1.05	1.07	1.04	0.95	0.97	0.89	0.93
	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.12)
Low labor market status	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Intermediate labor market status	1.22	1.54*	1.33*	0.92	1.16	0.75*	1.26	0.82	1.09
	(0.19)	(0.30)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.23)	(0.08)	(0.26)	(0.13)	(0.17)
High labor market status	1.11	1.26	1.10	1.01	1.15	0.91	1.14	0.90	0.99
	(0.19)	(0.27)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.12)	(0.26)	(0.16)	(0.17)

Table 9.3 continued:

Language assimilation	5.10***	3.14***	2.01***	2.53***	1.56*	0.50***	0.62*	0.20***	0.39***
	(0.87)	(0.65)	(0.26)	(0.43)	(0.33)	(0.06)	(0.14)	(0.03)	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	1.68**	2.25***	1.24	1.35	1.81**	0.80	1.33	0.59**	0.74
	(0.29)	(0.40)	(0.15)	(0.23)	(0.34)	(0.09)	(0.29)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Language Separation	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Language marginalization	0.98	0.72	1.43***	0.69*	0.50**	0.70***	0.73	1.02	1.46*
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.22)
Social assimilation	2.74***	2.03***	1.36**	2.02***	1.50*	0.74**	0.74	0.36***	0.49***
	(0.40)	(0.35)	(0.15)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Social multiple-inclusion	1.49**	0.97	1.54***	0.96	0.62*	0.65***	0.65*	0.67**	1.04
	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.14)
Social separation	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Ethnic cultural commitment	2.39***	1.58***	1.44***	1.66***	1.10	0.70***	0.66***	0.42***	0.60***
	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	2.89***	3.13***	1.57***	1.83**	1.20*	0.64***	1.08	0.35***	0.54**
	(0.54)	(0.85)	(0.15)	(0.36)	(0.56)	(0.06)	(0.35)	(0.06)	(0.11)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Discrimination (yes)	0.63***	0.57***	0.96	0.65***	0.60***	1.04	0.91	1.59***	1.53***
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.15)
Discrimination (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
1997	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
1999	1.12	1.24	1.15	0.95	1.08	0.87	1.13	0.91	1.05
	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.18)	(0.07)	(0.20)	(0.09)	(0.12)
2001	1.60***	1.62**	1.52***	1.06	1.07	0.66***	1.01	0.62***	0.95
	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.06)	(0.19)	(0.07)	(0.12)
2003	1.52***	1.51*	1.18	1.28	1.27	0.84	0.99	0.66***	0.78
	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.08)	(0.10)
Person year cases	6328			6328			6328		
N (clusters)	2016			2016			2016		
Pseudo R^2	0.14			0.14			0.14		
Wald test, prob>chi^2	0.000			0.000			0.000		

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003;own analysis)

The odds ratios described above provide only a vague idea regarding the actual associations between the indicators, and their outcomes (Bennett and Stam 1998). To provide a better representation of these associations, I also estimated the predicted probabilities of the respondents to demonstrate any of the four outcomes given their specific individual characteristics. This estimation is presented in table 9.4 below. The predicted probabilities presented, are based on the 'clarify' simulation procedure, developed by Tomz and his colleagues (2001).[35]

The stars next to the probability estimates presented in table 9.4 are used to demarcate a significant first difference between the categories of the different indicators included in the model. The first difference represents the difference in the probabilities of respondents with different characteristics to hold the different ethnic identification types, and indicates whether they are significant or not. For example, respondents demonstrating language assimilation, have significantly higher probabilities to hold the assimilation ethnic identification type compared with the probabilities of respondents demonstrating language separation (in bold) to hold this ethnic identification type. The first differences were also calculated using the 'clarify' simulation based procedure.

Table 9.4 indicates that respondents affiliated with the second generation are more probable to hold the marginalization or separation ethnic identification type than the assimilation or multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types. These respondents' probabilities to hold the marginalization ethnic identification type are significantly higher than those of first generation respondents. Their probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type are to the contrary significantly lower than those found among first generation immigrants. Respondents, affiliation with the 1.5 generation have lower probabilities to hold the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type than to hold the other ethnic identification types. Their probabilities to hold the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type are also significantly lower than the probabilities of first generation immigrants to hold this ethnic identification type.

[35] The applicability of 'clarify' to models with clustered standard errors is still debated although generally, there is no reason to assume that the results of this procedure for such models are biased. To make sure such bias does not exist I ran the same procedure also on a non clustered version of the models. Appendix 9, demonstrates that the results are generally robust; differences were only found in the first difference significance tests of three cells.

Table 9.4: Simulation based predicted probabilities

	Assimilation	Marginalization	Multiple-inclusion	Separation
Gender				
Female	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Male	0.10	0.32	0.07	0.50
Generational status				
First generation	0.10	0.32	0.07	0.50
1.5 generation	0.11	0.36	0.05*	0.47
Second generation	0.13	0.44*	0.06	0.36*
Years passed since immigration	0.10	0.32	0.07	0.50
Ethnic background				
Turkey	0.10	0.32*	0.07	0.50*
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.12*	0.29*	0.09	0.49*
South Europe	0.08	0.18	0.08	0.65
Educational background				
Low	0.13	0.34	0.08	0.44
Intermediate	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
High	0.13	0.26*	0.09	0.51
Educational degree				
Low	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Intermediate -high	0.10*	0.30	0.44	0.53
Post secondary	0.08*	0.38	0.07	0.46
Labor market status				
Not employed	0.13	0.32	0.08	0.47
Low	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Intermediate	0.13	0.36	0.09	0.41*
High	0.13	0.32	0.09	0.46
Language integration				
Assimilation	0.31*	0.32	0.11*	0.25*
Multiple-inclusion	0.16*	0.31	0.13*	0.39*
Separation	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Marginalization	0.11	0.40*	0.05*	0.44*
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.10	0.31	0.07	0.50
Social integration				
Assimilation	0.24*	0.30	0.10*	0.35*
Multiple-inclusion	0.15	0.40*	0.06	0.40*
Separation	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Inter-ethnic contact				
Yes	0.12*	0.31*	0.07*	0.48*
No	0.06	0.27	0.03	0.64
Discrimination				
Yes	0.08*	0.33	0.05*	0.53*
No	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49

* $p<0.05$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Turkish respondents show relatively high probabilities to hold the separation and marginalization ethnic identification types. Their probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type are significantly lower than the probabilities of south European respondents to hold this ethnic identification type. Turkish respondents' probabilities to hold the marginalization ethnic identification type are however significantly higher than the probabilities of south European respondents to hold it.

Respondents with ex-Yugoslavian ethnic background also have lower probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type compared with south European respondents. The probabilities of ex-Yugoslavian respondents to hold the assimilation and marginalization ethnic identification types are significantly higher than the probabilities of south European respondents to hold them.

In accordance with the findings reported in the odds ratio table, respondents with high educational background are found to have lower probabilities to hold the marginalization ethnic identification type, compared with respondents with low educational background. Also supporting the findings from the odds ratio table, respondents with intermediate or high high-school degree, are found to be least probable to hold the assimilation ethnic identification type. Their probabilities to hold this type of ethnic identification are significantly lower than those of respondents with low educational degree to do so. Similar trends are also found among respondents with post secondary education. With regard to the respondents' labor market status I find that respondents with an intermediate labor market status, show significantly lower probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type compared with the probabilities of respondents with low labor market status to hold them.

Respondents demonstrating language assimilation have higher probabilities to hold the assimilation, and marginalization ethnic identification types. Their probabilities to hold the assimilation ethnic identification type are significantly higher than the probabilities of language separated respondents to hold it. Language assimilated respondents, are also found to have significantly lower probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type and significantly higher probabilities to hold the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type compared with the probabilities of language separated respondents to hold them. Bilingual respondents are found to have high probabilities to hold the marginalization and separation ethnic identification types. Their probabilities to hold the multiple-inclusion ethnic identification type are significantly higher than the probabilities of language separated respondents to hold them.

Respondents demonstrating language marginalization also have higher probabilities to hold the marginalization and separation ethnic identification types. Their probabilities to hold the multiple-inclusion or separation ethnic identification types are significantly lower than the probabilities of respondents demonstrating language separation to do so. They are significantly more probable than language separated respondents to hold the marginalization ethnic identification type.

Respondents demonstrating social assimilation or multiple-inclusion have relatively high probabilities to hold the marginalization and separation ethnic identification types. Members of the former group, also demonstrate significantly higher probabilities to hold the assimilation and multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types, compared to the probabilities of socially separated respondents to hold

them. Their probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type are as expected significantly lower than the probabilities of socially separated respondents to do so. Respondents demonstrating social multiple-inclusion are found to have significantly higher probabilities to hold the marginalization ethnic identification type, and significantly lower probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type compared with the probabilities of socially separated respondents to hold them.

Respondents, who maintain inter-ethnic contact, have higher probabilities to hold the assimilation ethnic identification type compared to the probabilities of respondents who do not maintain inter-ethnic contact to hold it. Similarly, they show significantly lower probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type, compared with the probabilities of respondents who do not maintain inter-ethnic contact to hold this ethnic identification type.

As can be expected, respondents who reported to be discriminated against, have relatively high probabilities to hold the marginalization and separation ethnic identification types. Their probabilities to hold the separation ethnic identification type are higher than those of respondents who did not report to be discriminated against. Respondents who experienced discrimination are additionally found to have lower probabilities to be represented in the assimilation or multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types compared with respondents who did not experience discrimination.

9.3 Summary

The findings described above have several important consequences. First, they provide evidence for the role of both the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels in determining their ethnic identification preferences. Second, they also suggest some potential factors through which emotional integration can be promoted, and segregation, hindered.

One of the more substantial tasks of this chapter was to postulate the workings of the mechanisms specified in the theoretical model in determining the ethnic identification preferences of the respondents in terms of the fourfold typology of acculturation. Specifically, I expected these preferences to be a direct outcome of the conditions shaping the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels. Modeling the different transitions respondents may potentially experience between the different ethnic identification types, I was able to confirm most of these expectations.

In those transitions where the underlying change was associated with the respondents' ethnic minority identification, it was primarily conditions which lead to its increase or decrease that dominated the respondents' preferences. Affiliation with the second or 1.5 generations was accordingly found to be

guided primarily by the lower levels of ethnic minority identification it is associated with. These findings add support to the findings described in the previous models where generational status was found to significantly decrease levels of ethnic minority identification but not to increase the respondents' German identification levels.

It is important to understand why respondents of the younger generations do not show the expected increase in their identification with the dominant culture, as is typically expected by the classical assimilation theories. One explanation may be associated with their feelings or perceptions regarding their acceptance by the dominant culture. Another explanation, already explored in the former chapters, has to do with the acculturation patterns of immigrant descendents, in terms of language and social ties. One outcome of these patterns of identification is the declining centrality of ethnic or national identification in the self-concepts of these individuals, as other forms of social identification take precedence over it. As I expected, the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration is found to push the respondents away from the separation ethnic identification type.

The findings described above also demonstrate the role of the respondents' ethnic background in their ethnic identification preferences. Specifically, they provide support for the proposition made earlier, that the main mechanism underlying this association is the respondents' need to maintain a positive self-concept, and the challenge posed to this need by the disadvantaged position of their ethnic groups. Thus I find that separation is only preferred among south European nationals who are not suffering a disadvantaged position due to their ethnic background.

The associations between the respondents' cultural and social integration patterns and their ethnic identification preferences were usually in line with the framework of the subjective expected utility theory. Among respondents who are culturally or socially assimilated, their higher German identification levels and lower ethnic minority identification levels orients them towards the assimilation, or multiple-inclusion ethnic identification types, and away from separation. Similar patterns were also found among respondents who are bilingual or have mixed friendship patterns.

Although I expected language marginalization to be more detrimental for transitions based primarily on differences in the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, I found it to be important also for those in which the respondents' German identification levels were more central. Similar patterns were also found regarding the respondents' decreasing commitment to their ethnic heritage. Unexpectedly, I find that in many occasions, these decreasing preferences also have important implications for the respondents' German identification levels. As the respondents' commitment to their heritage culture decrease, their German identification levels increase, leading them for example to prefer assimilation over marginalization as an identification strategy.

I also find confirmation for the important role of the intergroup context shaping the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. In accordance with the findings presented in the former chapters, inter-ethnic contact is found to affect both transitions based on the respondents' German or ethnic minority identification levels. Also corresponding to the findings in the previous chapters, discrimination was found to play a role primarily in transitions between ethnic identification types in which the respondents' German identification levels are different.

The associations between structural integration and ethnic identification remain inconsistent also when modeling ethnic identification as a nominal construct. Among respondents, whose educational background is high, assimilation and multiple-inclusion are preferred over separation. These individuals are also found to prefer both of these ethnic identification types over marginalization. Interestingly, separation also represents a better alternative to marginalization among respondents with high educational background. These findings imply first that respondents with high educational background demonstrate higher levels of German identification. They also hold higher levels of ethnic minority identification compared with respondents with only low educational background.

From a wider psychological perspective these findings are surprising to the extent that respondents, whose educational background is higher, seem to lean more extensively on their ethnic identification than others. Typically, the expectation is that given their individual qualities, their reliance on such social categories will be lower (e.g. Simon 2004). With regard to the respondents' educational degree, the findings indicate that low educated respondents are more probable than others to hold an assimilation ethnic identification type.

The respondents' labor market status, presents a puzzling picture, because the preferences of non-employed respondents and of respondents who enjoy relatively advantageous positions in the labor market, are rather similar. Among the non-employed respondents, assimilation was found to be preferred to separation rejecting the dependency hypothesis. These respondent's clear preference for assimilation also over multiple-inclusion or marginalization, may suggest support for the underclass integration pattern discussed earlier. Among those respondents who enjoy a high labor market status, their rejection of the separation ethnic identification type fits well into the dependency proposition. These individuals may perceive the boundaries between their ethnic minority and the German majority to be more permeable, and thus be more willing to dissociate from the former. This may also explain why between marginalization and multiple-inclusion, they opt for the later.

In a more practical sense, these findings imply that in order to encourage immigrants and descendents of immigrants to emotionally integrate into the receiving society, efforts should be made to integrate

them into the other socio-cultural dimensions. The creation of more opportunities for inter-ethnic contact to take place and the reduction of discrimination are of similar importance.

Finally one needs to consider the important role of the respondents' perceived disadvantage associated with the structural position of their ethnic group. The findings above suggest that this disadvantaged position may guide them away from the ethnic minority. However, in most cases this pattern results in their marginalization, and does not contribute to their increased emotional integration. Therefore, one should avoid interpreting my findings as claiming that keeping the ethnic minorities on the margins of society can be seen as a strategy for their integration.

10. The Association between Leaving Home and Ethnic Identification

This final part of the dissertation is dedicated to an examination of the theoretical association between the respondents' move away from their parents' home and their ethnic identification preferences. The event of leaving the parents' home is part of the emerging adulthood stage characterized by a line of events that are normatively acknowledged as markers of the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Among others, during this stage individuals enter the labor market; establish their own family; or finish their educational training (Hogan and Astone 1986).

As suggested in the theoretical section of this dissertation, the relations between leaving home and the ethnic identification of immigrants and their descendents are already established to some extent in immigration research. However, as in many other cases, here too, the empirical aspect of this relationship has preceded its theoretical groundings.

Having already drawn the main theoretical mechanisms associating the event of leaving the parents' home with ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendent, in this chapter I approach this relationship empirically. I first specify more clearly the hypotheses to be tested, referring to the propositions made in the theoretical model. The causal links between leaving home and ethnic identification are formed within the framework of the subjective expected utility theory. I then proceed to describe the data used to test these hypotheses and its limitations. Finally I present the statistical analyses and discuss the findings emerging from them.

10.1 The association between leaving home and changing ethnic identification preferences

Traditionally, it is assumed that within the context of immigration, the generation of the parents is more closely associated with the ethnic minority, and that the parents' home serves as a main sphere for the transmission of the ethnic culture to the next generation (Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Hechter 1986). In line with this assumption, this study too demonstrated that the immigrants of the first generation, and among them the parents of the respondents I study here, hold stronger levels of ethnic minority identification, compared with the younger generations.[36]

[36] In the sample I am using here, first generation immigrants can be both parents and children.

The understanding of the parental home as a central sphere for the transmission of the heritage culture implies that once individuals leave it, the pressures they face to comply with the cultural heritage will decrease. The freedom from the dependency on the parents will allow children of immigrants to redefine their cultural and emotional preferences. Among others, it will decrease the costs endured should these new preferences involve the dissociation from the ethnic minority. Within the framework of the investment model discussed throughout this dissertation, I therefore assume that respondents' who leave their parents' home will show lower levels of ethnic minority identification.

Another factor which is predicted to imply the decreasing levels of ethnic minority identification among the respondents who leave their parents' home is the decrease it implies in their exposure to the heritage culture. Leaving home, will decrease their use of the mother tongue for communication, and may also be associated with decreasing exposure to other cultural practices associated with the ethnic cultural heritage. Like generational status, also this determinant of the respondents' exposure to the ethnic minority, is predicted to decrease their subjective probabilities to succeed in gaining a positive self-concept from identifying with it.

Just as the parental home is predicted to orient individuals towards the ethnic cultural heritage, it is also expected to serve as a 'gate keeper' separating them from the influence of the dominant culture (see Sen and Goldberg 1994 for the case of Turkish family). For this reason, the move out of home is also predicted to provide individuals with higher chances to overcome this barrier, and engage in closer contact with the dominant culture. The changing contextual characteristics involved in leaving the parents' home are therefore predicted to decrease the costs of deviating from the expectations of the parents, implying potentially higher gains from an investment in social mobility.

The respondents' German identification levels are expected to increase once they leave home for another reason, associated with another important psychological process occurring during the emerging adulthood stage. As suggested in the theoretical section above, emerging adults are characterized by a stronger need to form their own attitudes and distinguish themselves in this way from their parents. Marking their entry into adulthood, leaving home may thus motivate individuals to adopt different attitudes than those held by their parents, opting for stronger identification with the receiving society.

One important factor which needs to be considered when looking into respondents' move out of home is the context in which it takes place. For example, it is possible that individuals, who leave home in order to find a job, or acquire education, will have different evaluations of the potential utilities of their ethnic identifications than those moving out for other reasons. Specifically, finding a job implies increased material independence from the parents, and may thus reinforce processes related with

decreasing the costs of an investment. I thus expect that respondents, leaving home at the same time they enter into the labor market, will show lower levels of ethnic minority identification, and higher levels of German identification.

Entry into education is predicted to have similar consequences to the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. It too, is associated with increasing independence of the children from their parents. As in the case of labor market related transitions, here too I expect respondents leaving home at the same time they enter into education, to show lower levels of ethnic minority identification and higher levels of German identification.

Another important and common reason for individuals to leave home is marriage, associated with the establishment of a new home. Of course, a major factor determining the relevance and direction of the effect of marriage on ethnic identification is the individual's selected partner. Individuals with immigration background who marry a partner of another background may have different ethnic identification preferences than those who marry a member of their own ethnic group may have.

Specifically, creating a home with a co-ethnic partner will not lead to the predicted decrease in the costs of leaving one's minority ethnic group. In fact, the choice to marry within one's ethnic group is often referred to in the literature as a strong indicator for the separated nature of one's integration (see e.g. Kecskes 2000). Therefore among respondents who marry a co-ethnic partner, I do not predict a weakening of the ethnic minority identification. Implying a tendency towards separation, intra-ethnic marriage or cohabitation, is also predicted to be associated with the respondents' lower levels of German identification.

Finally, the parents' ethnic identification preferences are also expected to play a role determining the consequences of leaving home for the respondents. The importance of the parents' ethnic identification is twofold. First, it serves as an important source of support which increases the respondents' success probabilities in their categorization, and in deriving a positive self-concept from this categorization. In this line of argumentation, I predict that increasing levels of German identification among the respondents' parents will increase their own German identification levels. Increasing ethnic minority identification levels among the respondents' parents are accordingly expected to lead to a decrease in their own levels of German identification. Predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification, the opposite processes are predicted.

Second, the parents' ethnic identification levels represent the actual costs associated with investing in social mobility while living with the parents. Specifically, in households in which the parents are demonstrating patterns of emotional integration, the costs of engaging in social mobility while at home

will be rather low. In these households, German identification will also not serve as a useful mean for self-determination. Hence, the positive effect of the move out of the parents' home on the respondents' German identification levels will be moderated. Increasing levels of German identification among the parents are also predicted to decrease the utilities of the respondents' dissociation from their ethnic minority, also representing their social mobility investment. It is thus expected to moderate the negative effect of the respondents move out, on their ethnic minority identification levels.

The parents' ethnic minority identification levels are expected to have the opposite outcomes. If the parents demonstrate increasing levels of ethnic minority identification, the costs of engagement in social mobility while living at home will be high. The move out will therefore be more beneficial for this investment. High ethnic minority identification among the parents will also increase the respondents' gains in terms of their independence from their parents should they engage in a social mobility investment. High ethnic minority identification of the parents is therefore predicted to magnify the positive effect of leaving home on the respondents' German identification levels. It will also magnify the negative effect of leaving home on the respondents' own ethnic identification levels.

10.2 Data and sample selection

In order to test the propositions made above, I am using subsamples of the samples used for the previous chapters that include however only respondents who are in the age range associated with the period of emerging adulthood. I have chosen the more limited definition of this range including only respondents who first participated in the GSOEP at the age of 26 or younger. The minimum age is in line with the definition of emerging adulthood, 17 years old (Jensen 1997). The first sample is aimed to model the young respondents' German identification related changes. It is based on data from the six-wave sample drawn for the previous analyses. The second sample, models changes in the respondents' ethnic minority identification, and is based on the four-wave sample drawn before.

In order to model the transition away from the parents' home I used the variable measuring the respondents' relation to the head of house.[37] Respondents reporting to be children of the head of the household in the first wave they participated in, and who, in one of the later waves, reported to be the head of the household or its partner, or alternatively to be unrelated to the head of the household, were coded as movers. I used all available information from all the waves starting from 1985 to produce the

[37] This variable is available from the equivalent files of the GSOEP.

move indicator. One exception was made for respondents whose move took place during 2003 because I cannot determine the consequences of this move to their later ethnic identification levels. There is no information on the respondents' ethnic identification levels after 2003.

Respondents, who remained children of the household head throughout the waves, were coded as non movers. Respondents who reported to move to another family relative, or those who reported to return to their parents' house at a later stage, were excluded from the sample. In order to be sure that the change in the relation to the head of house is not related to role changes within the household, I also excluded respondents among which the relation to the household head changed, but no change was reported in their household identity number.

I additionally discriminated three types of moves: a move which took place at the same year of marriage, a move occurring at the year of entering a first job, and a move occurring parallel to entry into higher education. Marriage was defined as the year in which respondents, who entered the panel single, reported to be married or in a stable partnership. Entry into employment was defined as the year during which the respondents' labor market status first changed from still at school or at civil service to working.

Education was coded to include respondents who reported a change from holding no vocational or academic education to holding one or the other, or both. I have also included in this category individuals who reported a move from vocational or academic high school to post secondary education. Because it is possible that these events happen at the same time, I additionally created categories representing moves where an individual got married and found a job at the same year for example. I also included a category for moves which occurred independently of marriage, employment, or education. The main characteristics of both samples are presented in table 10.1 below.

The changes made in the composition of the two samples, did not cause changes in most of the characteristics of the respondents. The lower number of respondents and their smaller age distribution did reduce further the variance in the indicator for the respondents' inter-ethnic contact. Another change indicated in table 10.1 is the lower number of respondents classified as self-employed. In the analysis to follow, the I have placed the self-employed back in the original categories they belong to in the autonomy on the job classification (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik 1993). The number of respondents holding a high educational degree is also relatively small in the new samples. This category is therefore grouped together with the intermediate educational degree category.

Table 10.1: Respondents' distribution across the indicators to be estimated

Variable:	German identification sample	Ethnic minority identification sample
German identification	2.90 (1.14)	--
Ethnic minority identification	--	3.37 (0.97)
Years passed since immigration	21.764 (6.01)	23.12 (6.17)
Ethnic culture commitment	2.79 (0.76)	2.82 (0.72)
Mothers' German id levels	2.06 (1.03)	2.20 (1.01)
Mothers' ethnic minority id levels	4.13 (0.89)	3.96 (0.77)
Did not leave	53.62%	48.30%
Leave	46.38%	51.70%
No specified reason	30.90%	33.88%
Marriage	15.00%	17.19%
Entry into the labor market or education	0.48%	0.62%
Language multiple-inclusion	16.81%	16.52%
Language assimilation	27.47%	27.66%
Language separation	12.97%	12.22%
Language marginalization	41.94%	42.93%
Social multiple-inclusion	36.43%	29.24%
Social assimilation	24.69%	21.78%
Social separation	34.84%	30.49%
Social marginalization	1.66%	1.24%
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	8.56%	8.99%
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	91.44%	91.01%
Educational background (low)	31.54%	30.94%
Educational background (inter.)	34.23%	36.09%
Educational background (high)	33.85%	32.58%
Educational degree (low)	60.31%	56.84%
Educational degree (inter.-high)	29.98%	29.13%
Educational degree (post sec.)	3.12%	3.96%
Not employed	34.60%	35.29%
Low labor market status	30.12%	28.34%
Intermediate labor market status	20.51%	19.06%
High labor market status	14.53%	16.91%
Discrimination (no)	53.99%	55.88%
Discrimination (yes)	46.01%	44.12%
Turkey	42.28%	41.91%
Ex-Yugoslavia	17.45%	17.25%
South Europe	37.28%	37.33%
West Europe	0.65%	0.79%
East Europe	1.60%	2.04.%
Other	0.54%	0.68%
First generation	16.03%	15.44%
1.5 generation	18.34%	18.14%
Second generation	65.64%	66.42%
N	769	570

(source: GSOEP 1993-2003)

The analysis to follow thus compares respondents with basic high school or lower educational degree, to respondents with a higher educational degree. Given the small number of respondents included in

the social marginalization ethnic identification type, I once again merged them with the missing dummy for social integration, as was done in the previous chapter. [38]

The description of the samples also reveals that the number of respondents in the west European ethnic background category is very small. Consequentially, I merged the individuals from this category with the east European and 'other' categories as was done in earlier chapters. I use south European ethnic background as the reference category for the analysis, comparing primarily between them and the other two main labor immigration groups in Germany.

It is also important to consider here the additional indicators introduced into the model and their workings. In the 6-wave sample, about 54 per cent of the respondents remain in their parents' home throughout the sample, while only about 46 per cent of them move. I was unable to associate the vast majority of the movers with any of the transitions observed (30 per cent). 15 per cent of the movers moved at the same year of their marriage or entry into a stable partnership. Only a small group moved at the same year they entered higher education.

In the 4-waves sample the majority of the respondents report to leave the parents' home (51 per cent). Among them, once again the largest group did not leave home at the same year in which they experienced any of the three transitions observed (34 per cent). About 18 per cent of the respondents moved at the same year they were married in, or joined a stable partnership, and only very few respondents moved at the same year in which they entered higher education or the labor market. The very few transitions into the labor market are not surprising considering the relatively higher rates of unemployment found among immigrant adolescents in Germany in general (Sen and Goldberg 1994).[39]

A more interesting question than simply how many of the respondents moved and why, is whether the ethnic identification levels of respondents showing different move patterns differ. Presenting the mean levels of German and ethnic minority identification among respondents who did and did not leave home, table 10.2 provides a descriptive answer to this question. For both the more general (leave or

[38] I additionally ran the same models including the social marginalization category but no meaningful differences were found.
[39] Respondents, who left home at the same year in which they got married and entered high education or the labor market are included in the marriage category.

did not leave), and more specific (context of leaving) differentiations, the differences are rather small and in most of the waves also insignificant.

Table 10.2: Mean differences in the respondents German and ethnic minority identification levels

	German identification levels	Ethnic minority identification levels
Did not leave	2.92 (1.16)	3.28 (1.03)
Leave	2.88 (1.13)	3.45 (0.90)
Did not leave	2.92 (1.16)	3.28 (1.03)
Leave: unknown reason	2.94 (1.14)	3.42 (0.92)
Leave: marriage	2.75 (1.08)	3.53 (0.87)
Leave: employment or education	2.92 (1.07)	3.09 (0.94)

(source: GSOEP 1993-2003)

While the differences between respondents who did or did not leave their parent's home seem to be relatively minor, this may not be the case observing the effect of the move itself on the respondents' ethnic identification levels.

In order to test this within-respondents effect, I will once again use the hybrid OLS regression model, where I can observe the fixed effect of leaving home on the respondents' ethnic identification levels. The details of the method were already discussed before. This 'within individual' test is unavailable for a multinomial regression model required for the modeling of the effect of the move out of the parents' home on the respondents' ethnic identification preferences, in terms of the fourfold typology. I therefore did not perform this estimation in the context of this chapter.

Although theoretically the issue of partner selection is of central importance, the samples I am using here do not allow an empirical test of it. The main limitation is in the identification of the ethnic background of the respondents' partners. Specifically, of the partners I was able to identify in the longer six-wave sample, 17 per cent were foreign born. Valid information on country of birth is available for only a third of them. 26 per cent of the partners identified in the longer sample were German born, and information about their parent's country of birth is by and large unavailable (see appendix 10A). Among those partners for whom information on their ethnic background is provided I find that almost all of them are co ethnics of the target respondents in the sample. The situation among participants of the smaller sample is not significantly different (see appendix 10B). The tendency towards intra ethnic marriage found in the cases I have information about, will serve as the working assumption in the analysis to follow.

The first analysis presented below is directed to explore whether the move out of the parents' home causes changes in the respondents' German or ethnic minority identification at all. The second looks at different 'contextual reasons' which may account for these changes namely marriage, entry to the

labor market, and entry to post secondary education. As evident from table 10.1 above, the number of respondents whose move out of home was related either to entry into the labor market, or into education, or to both events was very small. Although I control for this option, its related effects will not be considered as they apply to a very selective sample.

In order to insure that it is the move and not other related causes which change the respondents' ethnic identification patterns, I control for most of the predictors presented in the previous chapters. Additionally, because of the strong association between the respondents' age and their transition, the indicator for the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration was removed from the models.[40]

Finally, two additional models test the expected effects of the respondents' parents (mother) ethnic identification levels on their ethnic identification levels. More importantly, they also test the interaction between the respondents' mother's ethnic identification levels and their move out on their ethnic identification preferences.

10.3 Findings

Models 1 and 2 in table 10.3 below, present the findings from the models predicting the effect of leaving home on the respondents' German identification levels. Model 1 includes a dummy representing those respondents who left home, to measure the effect of their move. Model 2 breaks the event of leaving home into four groups: respondents who did not leave (reference category), respondents who left for unspecified reasons, respondents who left due to marriage and respondents who left because of their entry into the labor market or into education. The table presents only the fixed effects for the time varying covariates. The random effects of the models presented here and in the next table can be found in appendix 11 A and B.

[40] This indicator is coded using a combination of the German born respondents' age, and the first or 1.5 generation respondents' number of years passed since their immigration. Unexpectedly, the effect of the household transition was insignificant once the period effects were controlled for. However because the period effects themselves were also insignificant, I have excluded them from my analysis.

Table 10.3: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) predicting respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	0.10	0.11	-0.21***	-0.22***
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Male	reference	reference	reference	reference
Second generation	-0.06	-0.06	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)
1.5 generation	-0.06	-0.06	0.11	0.10
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
First generation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Turkey	0.08	0.08	-0.33***	-0.32***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Ex Yugoslavia	0.10	0.09	-0.06	-0.05
	(0.081)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Rest	0.13	0.13	-0.59***	-0.58***
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.15)
South Europe	reference	reference	reference	reference
Low educational Background	reference	reference	reference	reference
Inter. educational background	-0.01	-0.006	-0.08	-0.09
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
High educational background	-0.08	-0.07	0.10	0.10
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Low educational degree	reference	reference	reference	reference
Inter. or high educational degree	0.07	0.07	0.10	0.09
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Not employed	-0.05	-0.05	0.12	0.11
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Low labor market status	reference	reference	reference	reference
Intermediate labor market status	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)
High labor market status	0.01	0.006	0.09	0.09
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Language assimilation	0.32***	0.32***	-0.29**	-0.28**
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.13	0.13	-0.10	-0.10
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Language separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Language marginalization	0.13*	0.13*	-0.17*	-0.17*
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.10**	0.10**	-0.10	-0.10
	(0.04)	(0.0374)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Social assimilation	0.19**	0.18**	-0.09	-0.07
	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.05	0.04	-0.05	-0.04
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Social separation	reference	reference	reference	reference

Table 10.3 continued:

Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.24***	0.24***	-0.13	-0.13
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Discrimination (yes)	-0.09*	-0.10*	-0.02	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Discrimination (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Did not leave	reference	reference	reference	reference
Leave	0.26***	---	0.003	---
	(0.06)	---	(0.10)	---
Leave unknown	---	0.31***	---	-0.08
	---	(0.07)	---	(0.12)
Leave marriage	---	0.17	---	0.18
	---	(0.10)	---	(0.17)
Leave education/labor market	---	0.02	---	-0.10
	---	(0.44)	---	(0.54)
_con	0.50*	0.49*	5.27***	5.26***
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.21)
N	769	769	570	570
Person year cases	2945	2945	1768	1768

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

As demonstrated in table 10.3, leaving home does increases the respondents' German identification levels (b=0.26). Model two demonstrates that this significant effect is only found among respondents whose move did not occur in the context of their marriage, or entry into secondary or post secondary education, or into the labor market (b=0.31).

The models additionally indicate that compared to the levels of German identification held by respondents if language separated, their German identification levels if demonstrating language assimilation, or marginalization are higher (b=0.33, and 0.13 respectively). Similarly, the levels of German identification found among respondents who are socially assimilated are higher when compared to those they demonstrate if socially separated (b=0.19). As in previous models here too, a one point decrease in the respondents' commitment to their heritage culture leads to an increase in their German identification levels (b=0.10). Both models also included a dummy variable controlling for the missing cases in the educational degree indicator where the proportion of missing cases was over 5 per cent. The effect of this indicator was insignificant in both models.

As models 3 and 4 in table 10.3 show, leaving home was not found to be associated with the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, regardless of the way it is measured. It is interesting to note that for the first time so far, I also find a significant effect for gender, suggesting that female respondents show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with male respondents (b=-0.21). The findings additionally indicate that the ethnic minority identification levels of

respondents demonstrating language assimilation are lower compared to those they demonstrate if language separated (b=-0.29). The same is also true for the transition from language separation to language marginalization (b=-0.17).

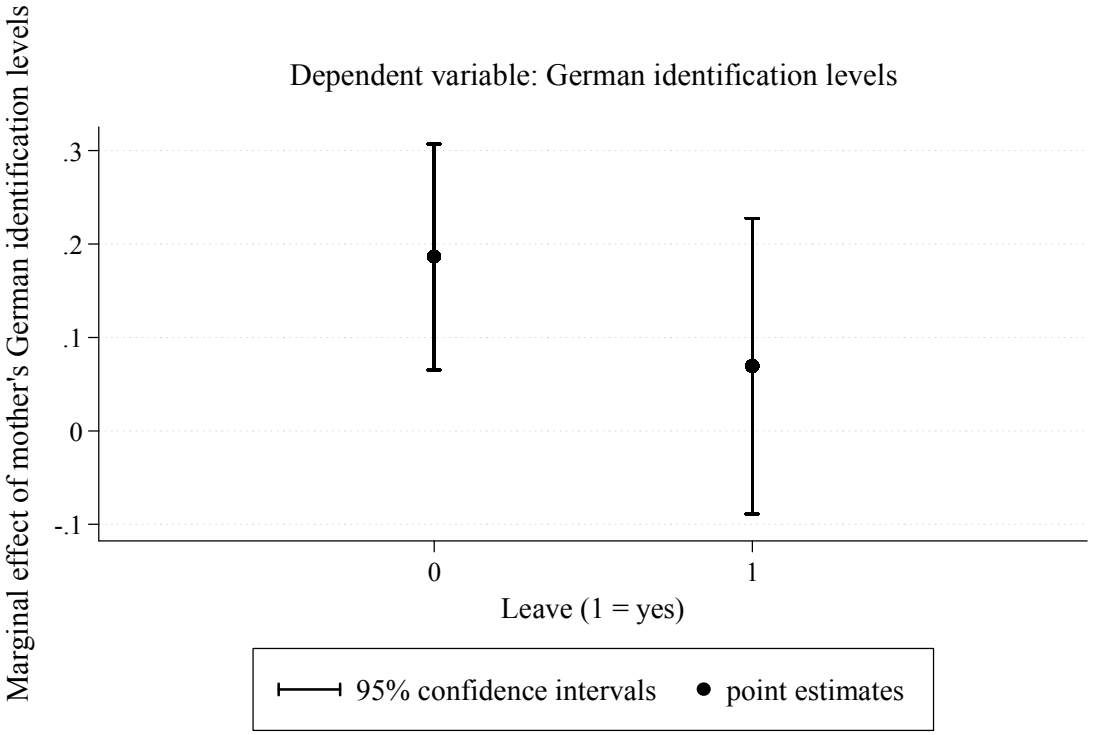
The respondents' ethnic background is also found to have a significant effect on their ethnic minority identification levels. Specifically, respondents with Turkish ethnic background show lower levels of ethnic minority identification compared with respondents with south European ethnic background (b=-0.33).

Table 10.4 below presents the next four models testing the effect of the parents' (mother) ethnic identification patterns on the ethnic identification preferences of the respondents. The models also include the interaction between the mother's ethnic identification levels and the respondents' move out of home. Model 1, presents the regression coefficients predicting the respondents' German identification levels. Compared with the models reviewed before, the effect of leaving home is here somewhat reduced but still significant (b=0.19).

Confirming the hypothesis made above, the effect of the mother's German identification levels is positive and significant. Specifically, as the mother's German identification levels increase in one point, the respondents' German identification levels also increase (b=0.19). The effect of the mother's ethnic minority identification level was as expected negative but insignificant. The other significant indicators are similar to those discussed above. Additionally, the indicator for Turkish ethnic background is here significant, implying that Turkish respondents hold higher levels of German identification compared with south European respondents (b=0.15).

Introducing the interactions between the respondents' move indicator and their mother's German and ethnic minority identification levels into the model (see model 2) reveals that the first of the two interactions is significant, and negative (b=-0.12). Accordingly, among respondents who move out of the parents' home, the effect of their mother's German identification levels on their own German identification levels is lower than among those who did not leave home. In fact, the effect of the mothers' German identification levels on that of the respondents was only significant in the later case (see figure 10.1 below). This finding supports the theoretical proposition that leaving home, is associated with greater independence from the parents, also in terms of the individuals' attitudes.

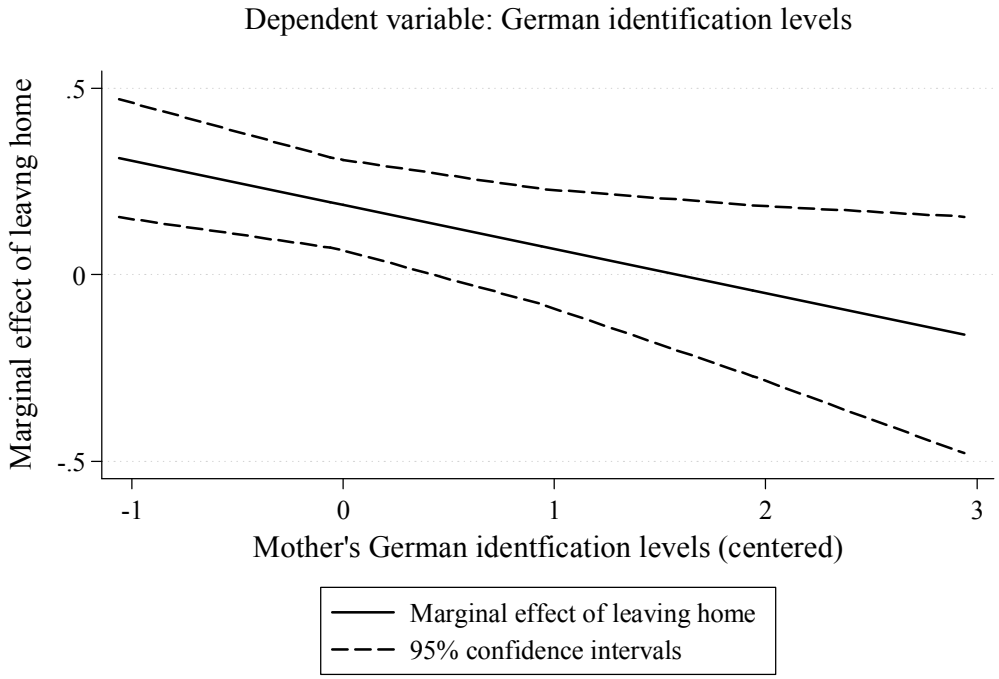
Figure 10.1: Marginal effect of mother's German identification levels on German identification among respondents who did or did not leave their parents' home



(Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

The interaction term also implies that the effect of the respondents' move out of the parents' home decreases as the mother's German identification levels increase. More specifically, figure 10.2 demonstrates that the move out of the parents' home is only significantly decreasing the respondents' levels of German identification if their mother's German identification levels increase from below the mean to the mean level. Beyond the mean, the effect is no longer significant at the 0.05 level. It is noteworthy that among 70 per cent of the respondents, the mother's German identification level is indeed below the mean. This is probably why the confidence intervals depart once the mean level is reached.

Figure 10.2: Marginal effect of leaving home on German identification as mother's German identification levels increase



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

I did not find any evidence for an effect of the mother's ethnic minority identification level in the model predicting the respondents' German identification. Its interaction with the move indicator was also insignificant. Among respondents whose mother's ethnic minority identification levels are at the mean, leaving home does imply increasing levels of German identification. This confirms my cost related hypothesis. In households where the costs of an investment are expected to be high, leaving home, suggests a decrease in these costs and promotes an investment.

Looking into model 3 in table 10.4, predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification, my expectations regarding the role of the mother's ethnic identification levels were also confirmed. A point's increase in the mother's German identification levels leads to a decrease in the respondents' ethnic minority identification (b=-0.10). The model also implies that as the mother's ethnic minority identification increases in one point, the ethnic minority identification levels of the respondents increase (b=0.09). Language assimilation, is also found to decrease the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels compared to those they would have if language assimilated (b=-0.30). The same is also true for language marginalization (b=-0.16). The effects of gender and of ethnic background are similar to those found before.

Table 10.4: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) predicting respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels including mothers' German identification levels

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Female	0.09	0.10	-0.19**	-0.19**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Male	reference	reference	reference	reference
Second generation	-0.09	-0.08	-0.006	-0.008
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
1.5 generation	-0.04	-0.05	0.08	0.08
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)
First generation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Turkey	0.15*	0.14*	-0.26***	-0.26***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Ex Yugoslavia	-0.01	-0.01	0.03	0.04
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Rest	0.14	0.13	-0.52***	-0.50***
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.15)
South Europe	reference	reference	reference	reference
Low educational Background	reference	reference	reference	reference
Inter. educational background	-0.03	-0.02	-0.07	-0.07
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)
High educational background	-0.12	-0.11	0.13	0.12
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Low educational degree	reference	reference	reference	reference
Inter. or high educational degree	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.08
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Not employed	-0.03	-0.03	0.10	0.09
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Low labor market status	reference	reference	reference	reference
Intermediate labor market status	0.01	0.004	-0.05	-0.05
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
High labor market status	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Language assimilation	0.31***	0.32***	-0.30**	-0.30**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.10	0.11	-0.11	-0.12
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Language separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Language marginalization	0.12*	0.12*	-0.16*	-0.16*
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.102**	0.100**	-0.102	-0.101
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.056)	(0.05)
Social assimilation	0.16*	0.17*	-0.06	-0.07
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.04	0.04	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Social separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.25***	0.25***	-0.13	-0.14
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)

Table 10.4 continued:

Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Discrimination (yes)	-0.08	-0.08	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Discrimination (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Did not leave	reference	reference	reference	reference
Leave	0.19**	0.19**	0.05	0.07
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Mother's German identification levels	0.19***	0.24***	-0.10**	-0.12**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Mother's ethnic minority identification levels	-0.05	-0.02	0.09*	0.13**
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Mother's German identification levels*leave	---	-0.12*	---	0.06
		(0.05)		(0.06)
Mother's ethnic minority id levels*leave	---	-0.06	---	-0.08
		(0.05)		(0.07)
_con	0.87***	0.85***	5.07***	5.08***
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)
N	769	769	570	570
Person year cases	2945	2945	1768	1768

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

The interaction effects were insignificant in the model predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels. Once they are included, the effects of the mother's German and ethnic minority identification levels on the respondents' own ethnic minority identification levels are slightly higher.

10.4 Summary

This final chapter of the dissertation was focused on the potential consequences of one of the steps immigrants and immigrant descendents make on the way to adulthood, namely leaving home, on their ethnic identification preferences. The interest in this question derived from the close association between the period of emerging adulthood and the development and change in individuals' social identities, and other attitudes. In the context of immigration it was primarily emerging out of Herbert Gans's important proposition that observations on the second immigrant generation may have falsely associated their integration with a process of reactive ethnicity simply because the individuals were met while still living in their parents' home (Gans 1997). Using a longitudinal survey which includes sufficient number of participants affiliated with the second, but also 1.5 and first immigrant generations, I have inquired into this proposition, observing my respondents also once they left their parent's home.

The findings described above, provide first hand evidence for the association between emerging adulthood and ethnic identification. Specifically, they suggest that the move out of the parents' home

is associated with increasing identification with the dominant majority. Less support was provided for its association with the respondents' ethnic minority identification. This later finding goes in line with previous findings presented in this dissertation, demonstrating that ethnic minority identification levels remain more robust to individual and contextual characteristics associated with integration.

Although one of the aims of this chapter was to explore also the context in which leaving home occurs, this goal was only partially achieved. This is primarily due to the properties of the data, and the lack of sufficient variation in the relevant indicators. Based on the data available here, I could determine only that respondents leaving their parents' home due to marriage do not significantly differ in their ethnic preferences from respondents who do not leave their parents' home. The same was also true for respondents leaving home at the same year in which they entered tertiary education or the labor market.

As predicted, the parents' ethnic identification is found to matter for the German and ethnic minority identification preferences of young immigrants and immigrant descendants. It is also found to be related to the question of leaving home. In this respect, the findings described above confirm Gans's proposition that as long as members of the younger generations are at home their integration is more subjected to the expectations of their parents. A word of caution must be placed here, regarding the reliability of these findings. Specifically, one needs to consider, a possible pre selection into moving out among respondents whose parents are more separated in their cultural and emotional choices. It is possible that the higher number of leavers in the smaller sample indicates this process.

One of the main contributions of this chapter is its demonstration of the need to further study the significance of life course transitions, not only to the respondents' structural integration, but also to other dimensions of it. While an increasing body of research has focused on the former consequences of such transitions, only little has been done to explore the latter. In light of the growing share of immigrant descendents in many western countries, and the persistence of ethnic related conflicts, the issue of identification, should be placed more highly on the agenda. This is particularly true, considering the association between identification with the dominant group and the perceived legitimacy of the state and its authorities, as well as civic participation.

11. Summary and Concluding Remarks

11.1 Motivation and aims

Ethnic identification of immigrants and their descendents has attracted the attention of different disciplines within the social sciences, yet its relevance transcends beyond the scientific world. The persisting centrality of discussions on ethnic identification in both the scientific and public spheres can be traced back to its association with the large scale immigration waves of contemporary time, in the context of which it is often contested.

The contestation of ethnic identification in the context of immigration derives from the often contradicting interests of the two main parties immigration brings together namely, the immigration receiving states, and the immigrants. From the perspective of the receiving states, immigrants' identification with it, is understood as an important indication for their acceptance of the legitimacy of the state's rule (Bauböck 2003). Once acknowledged, this legitimacy is also associated with the readiness of the state and its members to distribute state resources among them. Studies accordingly demonstrate that immigrants' identification with the receiving society positively predicts the willingness of its members to consider immigrants as members of the receiving country. Immigrants' identification with the receiving society therefore indirectly determines the attitudes of members of the receiving society towards them (e.g. Heath and Tilley 2005; Hjerm 1998; Raijman and Hochman 2010).

From the perspective of the immigrants, ethnic identification has been marked as one of the main determinants of their psychological well-being. Notably, researchers are still undecided regarding the type of ethnic identification that best predicts this psychological well-being. While some studies report that ethnic retention represent the better alternative, others have suggested assimilation instead (Phinney et al. 2001a; Rudmin 2003). Ethnic identification was also found to be associated with immigrants' structural positions, their educational attainment, or income. Here too, it is clear that increasing identification with the receiving society positively predicts better structural positions. It remains debated whether this increase must be accompanied by decreasing levels of ethnic minority identification, or not (see e.g. Jensen et al. 2006; Nekby et al. 2010).

Immigrants' ethnic identifications thus represent an important aspect of immigration that has consequences for both 'societal integration', and 'social integration'. Societal integration taps to the development of a stable and functional social system within the nation state, also in the face of its increasingly diverse population. Social integration taps into the integration of individuals within the social system (Esser 2001a). In the context of societal integration, ethnic identification represents an

important component in the development of cooperative interactions between the different groups composing the system. In the context of social integration, ethnic identification is relevant for the emergence of a spiritual or emotional attachment to one's society, supporting one's physical presence in it.[41]

These and other reasons serve to indicate the importance and relevance of ethnic identification to contemporary immigrant societies. They particularly underline the significance of immigrants' identification with the receiving society, requiring more research on how it comes about. This dissertation therefore suggested an explanation for ethnic identification preferences among immigrants and their descendents. It was primarily focused on uncovering the mechanisms governing their willingness to identify as members of the receiving society, and their willingness to maintain their identification with their ethnic heritage. Among these, a special place was given to integration related processes immigrants and their descendents experience, and the context in which they occur.

More specifically, the dissertation first aimed to explain and predict changes and differences in the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents. In order to do this, I provided a theoretical model, uncovering the main mechanisms linking the respondents' integration related characteristics, with their identification with their ethnic minority and the German society. This model was then tested empirically. A second aim of this dissertation was to disentangle possible interrelations between the different integration related characteristics specified, and the respondents' ethnic identification preferences.

A third aim of the dissertation was to predict the respondents' ethnic identification preferences as conceptualized within the fourfold typology of acculturation. This aim was pursued using the earlier defined and tested paths associating the respondents' integration related characteristics with their ethnic minority and German identification levels. Finally, corresponding to criticism regarding the limitations of studies focused on the intergenerational aspect of integration (Schwartz et al. 2005), this dissertation also test the relevance of emerging adulthood related events to immigrants' ethnic identification preferences.

[41] Esser (2001a) also distinguishes two weaker types of identification in the form of internalization of the norms accepted in the receiving society, or of one's factual part in it.

11.2 The main contributions and arguments

The contributions of this dissertation are found both in its theoretical and methodological approaches. The first theoretical contribution of the dissertation is the construction of a complete, clear, and simple theoretical model specifying the causal mechanisms linking ethnic identification with individual, inter-individual, and structural characteristics associated with the process of integration. While the characteristics I use to predict the ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents were already specified and explored in previous accounts, the mechanisms I propose to clarify their workings were, until now, practically missing (Nauck 2008; Schwartz 2005).

A second theoretical contribution of this dissertation is found in its unique approach to the fourfold typology of acculturation increasingly prevalent in contemporary social-psychological research. This dissertation is not the first to predict ethnic identification preferences of immigrants within the framework of the fourfold typology of acculturation (e.g. Zimmermann et al. 2007b). Yet it has progressed current knowledge by producing specific hypotheses regarding them. Using the theoretically derived mechanisms underlying individuals' German and ethnic identification levels, I have moved beyond marking the most attractive of the four alternatives, to study respondents' transitions between them. In this manner, I promote an understanding of these preferences as relative, and not absolute.

The final theoretical contribution of this dissertation was the integration of the developmental approach to ethnic identification into the general theoretical framework. Because of the general tendency of sociological research to disregard this approach, or leave it to the psychologists, the importance of this task derives firstly from its innovative nature. More substantively, this perspective provided an explanation for the formation of ethnic identification preferences that is linked with the intergenerational nature of integration. Focusing on emerging adulthood, I suggested understanding the move of emerging adults with immigration background out for their parents' home, representing one event within this life-course stage, as an important predictor of their ethnic identification preferences. I than demonstrated this understanding empirically.

The methodological contribution of this dissertation is primarily embodied in the longitudinal approach it applies. Only a few studies adopted a similar approach to the study of ethnic identification. These studies were primarily focused on processes of ethnic identity exploration and less on ethnic identification preferences (one exception is Tartakovsky 2009). They also did not apply advanced longitudinal methods to their data, and therefore only partially gained from the longitudinal data sets they used (see e.g. Phinney and Chavira 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Syed and Azmitia 2009).

The main arguments advanced in this dissertation suggested firstly that ethnic identification, representing the emotional dimension of integration, is determined by other characteristics associated with immigrants' integration. These were grouped into the cultural, social, and structural dimensions of integration, and are also represented by the respondents' ethnic background, their generational status, the number of years passed since their immigration, and the perceived intergroup context in which they live. Related with this argument is also the understanding that the associations between the different predictors and ethnic identification may not be independent.

A second central argument promoted throughout this dissertation is related to the nature of the associations between the different integration related characteristics discussed above and ethnic identification. Specifically, I have argued that these relations must be defined separately for the respondents' German identification, and their ethnic minority identification levels. This strategy allowed me first to determine how the different predictors are associated with the respondents German or ethnic minority identification levels. Only then I formalized clear expectations regarding their consequences for the formation of the four ethnic identification types proposed in the fourfold typology of acculturation.

Finally, I have also argued that ethnic identification preferences are not solely shaped by integration related process occurring at the individual, inter-individual or structural levels. They are also shaped by changes associated with more general life events leading to meaningful changes in the context in which individuals act and interact.

Following the introduction, chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation were primarily used to review the main theoretical perspectives used for the construction of the theoretical model presented in chapter 4. Once the model was presented, I discussed the German context in chapter 5 after which the empirical analyses were presented. Chapter 6 tested the separate paths determining the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels presented in the theoretical model. In chapters 7 and 8 I further extended this inquiry looking into the interrelations between the different indicators predicting these processes using interaction effects.

In chapter 9 I integrated the respondents' ethnic minority and German identification levels to construct the fourfold typology of acculturation and used my theoretical model to predict the respondents' preferences in terms of the outcomes it suggests. In chapter 10, I discussed and demonstrated the consequences of leaving home to young adult immigrants' ethnic identifications, tapping to contemporary advances in the developmental approach to ethnic identification.

The remaining of this chapter will discuss the findings reported in the different parts of the dissertation, and the extent to which they serve to demonstrate the arguments stated above. The specific findings of each of the empirical chapters were summarized within them. This chapter therefore presents a more general discussion connecting them. Here I will point to the more empirical and practical aspects of my work, referring to current debates in integration research about the interrelations between the different dimensions of integration, and the issues of ethnic and generational based differences.

11.3 Ethnic identification and integration in Germany

The multifaceted nature of the integration process is widely acknowledged by all different perspectives developed to explore and explain it. Following these perspectives, this dissertation have also embraced the proposition that processes occurring in one integration dimension are likely to be consequential for other dimensions. Keeping with more recent developments in integration research, I have not limited my explanation to intra-individual factors associated with integration, but also included some proxies to account for inter-individual and contextual factors it involves.

Unlike many accounts in integration research, I have dedicated a significant part of this dissertation to derive clear, and theoretically oriented causal paths that explain the mechanisms behind the associations found between ethnic identification and other dimensions of integration. This task was established with the help of the subjective expected utility theory, and the main social-psychological theories explaining the formation of social identities consisting, among others, also of ethnic identities. These analytical tools assisted me in providing a more theoretically oriented understanding of the roles the different dimensions of integration play in shaping immigrants' ethnic identifications, thus clearing out some of the contradictions existing in the literature regarding them.

Generational status and ethnic identification preferences

One of the main issues discussed in the context of integration in general and also in the context of immigrants' ethnic identification more specifically, are the differences and similarities between first generation immigrants, and their descendents. My dissertation demonstrated first that respondents affiliated with the first, 1.5 and second generations do not differ significantly in their German identification levels, once all other indicators are controlled for. Second, respondents' affiliated with the second generation show, as expected, lower levels of ethnic minority identification.

A closer look on the generational differences and their determinants, using interaction effects conveyed that members of the 1.5 generation, who are language assimilated, do demonstrate significantly higher levels of German identification compared with first generation immigrants. Affiliation with the 1.5 generation was also found to have stronger negative effects of the respondents' ethnic minority identification, if accompanied with a pattern of language marginalization. These findings support the causal explanation suggested in my model as it implies that losing their skills in the mother tongue, representing an important signifier of membership in the ethnic minority, leads members of the 1.5 generation, to dissociate from it, and increase their identification with the German dominant group.

These findings provide some support for the propositions of the classical assimilation perspective. They imply that at least among respondents affiliated with the 1.5 generation, cultural assimilation does lead to emotional integration. With regard to respondents affiliated with the second generation, the findings failed to support this proposition. However I also find no support for the alternative proposition, made by the segmented assimilation theory perspective pointing to reactive ethnicity.

Findings regarding the second immigrant generation suggest that the intergenerational transmission of ethnic identification is ineffective, and that descendents of immigrants experience a feeling of alienation from their ethnic minority, leading to their deceasing identification with it. Among the different ethnic minorities observed in this study, ex-Yugoslavians seem to be relatively more successful in maintaining the ethnic minority identification of the younger generations intact.

Further support for the decreasing levels of ethnic minority identification among respondents affiliated with the second generation, was found in chapter 9, where the respondents' preferences in terms of the four ethnic identification types suggested within the acculturation typology, were estimated. The findings presented in this chapter show that second generation immigrants prefer either the assimilation or the marginalization ethnic identification types over separation, which requires their strong identification with the ethnic minority. Assimilation, was only preferred to separation or

multiple-inclusion, both representing ethnic identification types that assume a strong identification with the ethnic minority.

The findings from chapter 9 similarly indicated that members of the younger generations do not differ in their ethnic identification preferences from first generation immigrants, when having to choose between the separation and multiple-inclusion, or between the marginalization and assimilation ethnic identification types. Preferences between these two pairs are primarily based on the expected utility of an investment in a German identification, which do not differ between first generation immigrants and members of the younger generations.

Cultural and social integration and ethnic identification

Another important and ongoing discussion in the context of integration research is related with the associations between the structural, cultural, and social dimensions of integration and ethnic identification, represented by the concept of emotional integration. While most perspectives agree that patterns of social and cultural integration are closely associated with patterns of emotional integration, this is not the case regarding structural integration. Classical assimilation theories typically support the view that emotional integration patters should also reflect the immigrants' structural positions. Segmented assimilation suggests to the contrary that such relations are not self-evident and that some immigrants rely on selective acculturation patterns separating their structural integration from their socio-cultural integration.

Predicting the respondents' German identification levels, my findings support the common proposition that social and cultural integration patterns predict the patterns of emotional integration immigrants demonstrate. The findings first indicated that language assimilation, bilingualism, and language marginalization, all increase the respondents' German identification levels. Second, the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels were found to decrease as an outcome of language assimilation. Language marginalization implied similar outcomes.

The positive effect of language marginalization on the respondents' German identification levels, found in the models, implies that decreasing mother tongue skills increase the respondents' German identification levels regardless of their tendencies towards the German culture. This pattern is further supported by the significant negative effect of the respondents' decreasing commitment to their ethnic culture on their German identification levels. Both findings, speak for the understanding of the ethnic minority and German identifications as alternatives for one another – once the respondents' cultural fit to their ethnic minority decreases, they show increasing motivation to replace their membership in it with membership in the German majority.

The respondents' social integration patterns were also found to serve as useful indicators for emotional integration. However here, only social assimilation and marginalization were found to exert a positive effect on the respondents' German identification levels. Unlike bilingualism, inter-ethnic friendships did not imply a significant increase in the respondents' levels of German identification. This finding speaks for the central role in-group sanctions play in keeping members of the ethnic minority within its boundaries.

Exploring potential intervening factors shaping the relations between the respondents' cultural and social integration and their ethnic identification preferences, I found first that these are shaped by exposure. Specifically, the number of years passed since the respondents' immigration moderates the effect of their cultural and social integration on their ethnic identification preferences. Affiliation with the 1.5 generation magnifies them. A potential explanation for the contradicting effects of these two indicators for exposure may be that respondents affiliated with the 1.5 generation, have an additional motivation to engage in social mobility which is independent from their longer exposure to the German society.

The findings also imply that the effects of the respondents' cultural and social integration patterns on their German as well as ethnic identification levels are shaped by the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries. Specifically, language assimilation increases the respondents' German identification levels only if they maintain inter-ethnic contact. Similarly, respondents who demonstrate language marginalization showed lower levels of ethnic minority identification only if they maintained inter-ethnic contact. These conditional effects make sense to the extent that only respondents, who perceive the intergroup boundaries as permeable and thus have higher probabilities to gain from their social mobility investment, invest. Like inter-ethnic contact, discrimination, also intervenes in the relations between cultural integration and the respondents' ethnic identification preferences.

A clear indication for the associations between the respondents' cultural integration patterns and their ethnic identification preferences was demonstrated in chapter 9, where these preferences were conceptualized within the framework of the four types of acculturation. The models presented in chapter 9 demonstrated that language assimilation is associated with clear preferences towards the assimilation ethnic identification type. Implying only low if any knowledge of the mother tongue, language assimilation was also associated with respondents' higher preferences towards the marginalization ethnic identification type, or the multiple-inclusion one, when the alternative was separation. Similar patterns were also found for social assimilation.

Structural integration and ethnic identification, an unsolved puzzle

Unlike the cultural and social integration dimensions, the findings discussed in this dissertation did not imply a clear path characterizing associations between the structural integration predictors and the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. Predicting the respondents' German identification, the findings discussed in chapter 6 conveyed that educational background has no significant effect on them. As for the respondents' educational degree, a pattern of underclass integration emerged. The positive effect of high educational background on the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, found in the respective model, fits the negative effect of intermediate educational degree discussed above. It implies that respondents who are structurally better off, not only show lower levels of German identification but also higher levels of ethnic minority identification.

In the models presented in chapter 9, I found that respondents with intermediate or post secondary education demonstrate higher odds to opt for the separation ethnic identification type, reflecting the effects described above. Educational background was not found to significantly explain the respondents' ethnic identification preferences in these models. However, the findings do imply that compared with respondents with lower educational background, respondents with high educational background have higher probabilities to be represented in the separation, and lower probabilities to be represented in the marginalization ethnic identification types.

These findings provide more support for the claims made by the segmented assimilation theory than for those made by the assimilation theory, because they do not imply a strong fit between structural and emotional assimilation. However, one must remember the limitations associated with the measurements used in my analysis regarding the variance between and within respondents.

The consequences of the intergroup context to ethnic identification preferences of immigrants and their descendents

The intergroup context of reception was conceptualized in this dissertation as an indication for the perceived permeability of the boundaries between the immigrant minorities and the dominant German majority. It was estimated using the respondents' inter-ethnic contact maintenance and their (perceived) discrimination experiences. These two indicators were often discussed in inter-cultural studies, as important determinants of the context of reception, which is considered as a valuable predictor of individual integration. However, more often than not, they are excluded from sociological accounts aiming to explain it.

In my own models, I found that particularly inter-ethnic contact is important for the respondents' ethnic identification preferences. As predicted, it was found to increase their German identification

levels and decrease their ethnic minority identification levels. As suggested above, inter-ethnic contact was also found to serve as a necessary condition under which other components of my model exert their expected effect on the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels.

Interestingly, perceived discrimination was only found to imply a significant decrease in the respondents' German identification levels. This finding contradicts the often reported effect of discrimination on immigrants' ethnic identifications (Bisin et al. 2006; Branscombe et al. 1999; Liebkind et al. 2004). This contradiction can be explained both statistically and theoretically. First, it is important to note in many of these studies ethnic identifications were conceptualized as general labels and not as an outcome of identification with the ethnic minority or the cultural majority I distinguish in my own work.[42]

Second, as I demonstrate in my model, the associations between ethnic identification and discrimination are theoretically not so much related to increasing the respondents' identification with their own ethnic minority but more related to their decreasing identification with the dominant culture. From a rational choice perspective this causal mechanism is also more plausible because increasing one's identification with a group which has a harmful effect on one's self-concept (like discrimination) is counterproductive.

This later argument is supported by the findings presented in chapter 9, where the respondents' ethnic identification preferences conceptualized within the fourfold acculturation typology were explained. Here, discrimination was positively associated with the respondents' preferences towards separation, when the alternative ethnic identification type implied a strong identification with the German group. This preference to separation was not found once the alternative was marginalization, implying their low levels of German identification.

Ethnic background and ethnic identification preferences

Another source for a negative self-concept suggested in my theoretical model was the respondents' ethnic background. Here, the assumption was that as members of relatively disadvantaged groups within the German society, immigrants and their descendents suffer from a negative self-concept

[42] None of these studies have used a fixed effects approach to study the relations between discrimination and ethnic identification.

associated with their in-group membership. This negative self-concept was in turn predicted to motivate them to engage in social mobility.

Given the different characteristics of the immigrant minorities studied in this research, I also expected the respondents' social mobility investment strategies to vary according to the minority they belong to. As expected, increasing German identification was adopted only by respondents for whom this strategy was the least costly, namely ex-Yugoslavian respondents. Decreasing ethnic minority identification, as an alternative path to social mobility was however adopted by members of all groups in my sample, apart from the south Europeans.

The findings presented in chapter 8 additionally indicated that the relations between the respondents' ethnic background and their German as well as ethnic minority identification levels are shaped by other integration related factors.[43] The perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries represents one of the conditions determining these relationships. First, I found that ex-Yugoslavian respondents show higher levels of German identification only if they maintain inter-ethnic contact, and thus, only if they perceive the intergroup boundaries as more permeable. Predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels, I additionally find that Turkish respondents with high educational background do not differ significantly from south European respondents in their ethnic minority identification levels.

Another factor found to shape the relations between the respondents' ethnic background and their ethnic minority as well as German identification levels was their cultural integration. Here again, language assimilation, and marginalization were found to serve as necessary conditions for an investment to occur. This was the case for ex-Yugoslavian, and Turkish respondents. The positive effect of the disadvantageous position of ex-Yugoslavian respondents on their social mobility investment prospects was also found to be moderated by their increasing exposure to the German society. With time and generational progress, these individuals are found to show lower levels of German identification.

The findings discussed in chapter 9, also demonstrate the different strategies of social mobility available for members of the different ethnic groups. The most striking findings in this regard are the

[43] The reference category in this chapter was different to that used in chapter six. While in chapter 6 west European respondents were the reference category, in chapter 8 it was the south European respondents.

higher probabilities of Turkish respondents to opt for the marginalization ethnic identification type, and the higher probabilities of ex-Yugoslavian respondents to opt for the assimilation ethnic identification type. It is also interesting that Turkish respondents found the assimilation ethnic identification type to be preferable when the alternatives were separation or multiple-inclusion implying their strong identification with their ethnic minority.

A matter of time: the associations between the number of years passed since immigration, and ethnic identification

The number of years passed since the respondents' immigration, serves as another predictor of their ethnic identification patterns in my models. Indicating the respondents' increasing exposure to the receiving society it was expected to increase their German identification, and decrease their ethnic minority identification levels. However, once all other indicators were introduced in to my models, this indicator had no significant effect on either form of ethnic identification.

This finding may be theoretically cleared out by stressing the relatively low importance of exposure, and the higher importance of more substantive processes of integration included in the models. Empirically, it may also be associated with the relatively long time passed since the respondents' immigration. Most studies on integration stress that this characteristic of the immigrants is typically more relevant in the early periods after immigration, and looses weight the longer the immigrants stay in the receiving society (see e.g. Price 1969).

Another reason for the insignificant effect of the number of years passed since immigration on the respondents' ethnic identification levels in chapters 6 to 8 may be that I was referring to its fixed (within respondent) effects. This measure, controls for potential time constant unobserved covariates which may account for the significant effect found for this indicator in the analysis conducted in chapter 9. Substantively, my findings imply that exposure alone, does not account for changes in the respondents' ethnic identification preferences.

11.4 Emerging adulthood: an opportunity to escape the ethnic enclave

The last empirical chapter in the dissertation had a rather specific task, namely to explain the association between the move of emerging adult immigrants away from their parents' home, and their ethnic identification preferences. The findings from the models presented in this chapter generally provided support for my hypothesis that the move out of the parents' home matters. However, unexpectedly, it was found to matter only for the respondents' German identification levels. This was true regardless of the context in which the transition occurred. In line with my expectations, the models conveyed that the German identification levels of respondents increase once they leave their

parents' home. Looking into the context of the move did not bring much insight into my analysis, primarily due to the very small number of cases in the different groups.

Introducing the German and ethnic minority identification levels of the respondents' mothers, was more useful in this regard. As expected, I found that the positive effect of leaving home on respondents' German identification levels decreases with increasing German identification of the mother. Thus, the findings confirmed that when leaving home is not associated with decreased costs of social mobility, or with the respondents' motivations to distinguish themselves from their parents (in this case their mother), it is less consequential to their German identification.

The fact that the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels remain stable, sustains previous findings indicating that this ethnic identification is more resilient to change. An explanation of this important difference between the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification remains beyond the scope of this dissertation. One potential and interesting possibility clarifying this difference may be found in the different meanings attached to each of these identifications in the minds of the immigrants. In order to test this direction, qualitative interviews must be conducted, where the immigrants and their descendents could articulate whether and how they are different. This open question represents only one of the unresolved issues emerging out of this dissertation. These questions are further described below.

The findings summarized above, provide support to the main arguments promoted throughout this dissertation. First, they demonstrate the importance of the separation attempted here between the two ethnic groups immigrants and their descendents refer to when forming their ethnic identification preferences. While in many cases these two alternatives do appear to imply opposing forces, this was not always the case. For example, the social integration of the respondents, and their discrimination experiences, were found to determine only their German identification levels. The same is also true for the respondents' generational status found to shape only their ethnic minority identification levels.

Modeling the interrelations between the different predictors, I found further evidence for the different logics determining the respondents' levels of German and ethnic minority identifications. The findings from the final chapter of this dissertation also support the logic of separating the respondents' German and ethnic minority identification levels.

Second, the findings also testify for the relative nature of respondents' ethnic identification preferences, conceptualized in the two-dimensional acculturation model. Specifically, I find that the preferences of respondents between one and another ethnic identification type, depend strongly on the alternative option available for them. Importantly, the ability to foresee the respondents' preferences

between the different pairs derives from the understanding of the mechanisms shaping their identification with the German or ethnic minority groups.

11.5 Limitations and open question

This dissertation was aimed to advance current research on ethnic identification in the context of integration both theoretically and empirically. Although it has contributed to both these aspects of integration research, it also suffers from important limitations which should be overcome in the future. One of the remaining gaps in the theoretical model proposed in the dissertation relates to the causal relationship between the structural and emotional integration dimensions. While this association was attended to using the concept of perceived permeability, the findings do not provide clear evidence supporting this association. In fact, educational background, educational degree, and labor market status, imply different consequences to the respondents' ethnic identification preferences.

One way to further explore this relationship is through a more selective operationalization, for example using the fit between the immigrants' occupation from their pre migration time, and their occupation after immigration. This or alternative measures, will assist in evaluating the gap between their expectations in terms of structural success and the actual situation they are in. Alternatively, with a more fine tuned measure of educational attainment, particularly in terms of occupational or on the job training, higher within variance would be provided thus increasing the usefulness of the fixed effect estimation attempted here.

The structural integration related measures of the perceived permeability of the intergroup boundaries are not the only conceptual challenge in the context of this research. My operationalization of the other characteristics of the intergroup boundaries, are also problematic. A better way to measure this aspect of the intergroup context will be achieved by referring to the respondents' attitudes regarding their perceived chances to be accepted as full and equal members of the receiving society (see e.g. Skrobaneck 2009). Given the changing nature of these attitudes, they should be studied in a longitudinal manner.

Another measurement limitation in my analysis is associated with the respondents' comparative evaluation of their in-group status. In this study, this important determinant of social mobility is measured using the respondents' ethnic background. Although the socio-political context provided in this dissertation allows some specific assumptions regarding this comparative status, one should aspire to measure it directly. The many different aspects represented by the respondents' ethnic background in this dissertation hinder the possibility to understand which of them is more central and how it operates.

A more technical limitation associated with this indicator is the relatively small number of cases in some of the categories. Although I have tried to cope with this problem by altering the categories and the reference groups, one should in the future aspire to get more equal representation of the different immigrant minorities. This way, the models would be more efficient identifying relations between them.

While the benefits of the longitudinal data set used in this dissertation were already reviewed, it is also important to relate to the limitations associated with this type of data. Specifically, one should note that the indicators used in the models presented here were only asked every second year and only in a limited number of waves thus providing a relatively low variance within individuals.

It is also important to keep in mind that although the fixed effect approach controls for unobserved time constant heterogeneity, it falls short in providing a solution to other potential sources of bias. Two of these sources are particularly noteworthy in the context of this research. First, the model does not control for time varying unobserved heterogeneity, which can in this case derive from different psychological processes associated with the adjustment of immigrants to their new environment. The scope of this bias is however expected to be rather low considering that most respondents in my sample are long term immigrants who passed already the critical stages of their psychological adjustment.

Second, the model does not provide a solution for the problem of endogeneity that is embedded in the study of integration related processes. As suggested earlier in this dissertation, the associations between the emotional, cultural, social and structural dimensions of integration are predicted to be complex and non-recursive. While language and social ties contribute to the formation of ethnic identification, ethnic identification is also associated with the motivation to be socially and culturally assimilated. The same is also true for structural integration. Although theoretically, the relations I postulated are more accepted in the social psychological discipline and also in sociology to some extent, they require a clear empirical test.

Focused solely on the German context, this study is also limited in terms of generalization. This is particularly the case given the relatively unique history of Germany's immigration and naturalization policies and the focus of this dissertation on a relatively specialized immigrant population within it (labor migrants). It remains to be tested whether similar findings will emerge when comparing the German context with other immigration states in Europe and outside it.

As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, a rational choice perspective really does seem to serve as a useful explanatory framework for the formation of ethnic identification preferences. Yet, rational

choice represents only one cognitive mode in which these preferences are set. Individuals' strong reliance on their long lasting self-conceptualizations must not be underestimated in this context. A second cognitive mode which is thus bound to determine individuals' ethnic identification preferences is expected to involve their so called 'normative' resources.

In fact, the model of frame selection, developed by Esser (1996; 2001b) and Kroneberg (2005) would suggest that the later mode precedes the former. A natural extension of the theoretical model proposed in this dissertation would thus be the integration of the model of frame selection into it, and the demarcation of the potential 'events' which pushes one away from the normative mode and into the rationalization of its ethnic identification.

Notwithstanding the limitations of this dissertation and the questions it leaves open for further research, it is my hope that it has also made significant contributions to the study of integration and of ethnic identification processes. Although in many respects this study provided a replication of findings already pointed out before, it has contributed substantively to the existing body of knowledge by providing better understanding the mechanisms behind them. The main goal of this project was to explain the relations between the individual and contextual characteristics of integration, and ethnic identification, using existing social-psychological models explaining social identity, and integrating them into a unified social action based framework. This effort was found to be extremely beneficial, as it created a sound basis on which specific causal processes underlying individuals' ethnic identification preferences were spelled out, and tested.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: The composition of the German foreign population between 1995 and 2007 (in per cents)

	Year:												
Country of origin:	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Turkey	28,10%	28,00%	28,60%	28,80%	28,00%	27,40%	26,60%	26,10%	25,60%	26,30%	26,10%	25,80%	25,40%
Yugoslavia*	18,90%	18,50%	17,20%	16,10%	16,10%	15,10%	14,70%	14,50%	6,60%	11,30%	11,30%	11,60%	11,70%
Italy	8,20%	8,20%	8,30%	8,40%	8,40%	8,50%	8,40%	8,30%	8,20%	8,20%	8%	7,90%	7,80%
Other South and West Europe*	12,90%	12,90%	12,80%	12,90%	12,90%	13,10%	13,20%	13,10%	21,50%	16,20%	16,10%	15,80%	15,70%
Greece	5,00%	5,00%	4,90%	5,00%	5,00%	5,00%	5,00%	4,90%	4,80%	4,70%	4,60%	4,50%	4,40%
Poland	3,90%	3,90%	3,80%	3,90%	4,00%	4,10%	4,20%	4,30%	4,50%	4,30%	4,80%	5,40%	5,70%
Other East European	5,50%	5,50%	5,70%	5,80%	6,20%	6,80%	7,40%	7,90%	7,90%	8,50%	8,60%	8,70%	9%
Africa	4,10%	4,10%	4,10%	4,10%	4,10%	4,10%	4,10%	4,20%	4,20%	4,10%	4,10%	4%	4%
Asia	9,90%	10,20%	10,60%	10,90%	11,20%	11,50%	12,00%	12,30%	12,40%	12,30%	12,30%	12,10%	12,10%
North America	1,70%	1,60%	1,60%	1,70%	1,70%	1,70%	1,70%	1,70%	1,70%	1,60%	1,60%	1,70%	1,70%
South America	0,70%	0,70%	0,70%	0,80%	0,80%	0,90%	0,90%	1,00%	1,40%	1,40%	1,40%	1,50%	1,50%
Oceania	0,10%	0,10%	0,10%	0,10%	0,10%	0,10%	0,20%	0,20%	0,20%	0,10%	0,20%	0,20%	0,20%

*Changes occurring in Yugoslavia during the 1990 may lead to inaccuracies in the way different individuals refer to their country of origin. Also in the data for the years 2003-2007 the category 'Yugoslavia' which was given before was no longer in the data. This may lead to under estimation of this category's share.

*The category "Other South and West Europe" is primarily composed of immigrants from Austria and the UK.

Appendix 2: Compatibility between the extent to which respondent's feel foreign in Germany and the extent to which they still feel close to their country of origin

	Ethnic minority identification		German identification	
	r	b	r	b
1986-1987	0.43	0.42	0.36	0.36
1987-1989	0.47	0.47	0.42	0.40
1989-1991	0.48	0.48	0.44	0.46
1991-1993	0.53	0.54	0.45	0.46
1993-1995	0.48	0.50	0.43	0.43
1995-1997	0.28	0.30	0.43	0.47
1997-1999	0.92	0.92	0.94	0.93
1999-2001	0.93	0.94	0.95	0.92
2001-2003	0.80	0.83	0.89	0.91

(Source: GSOEP 1984-2007)

Appendix 3: Coefficients (SE) from pooled ordered and OLS regression models

	Ethnic minority identification levels		German identification levels	
	ordered logit	OLS	ordered logit	OLS
Female	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.008 (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)
Male	reference	reference	reference	reference
Second generation	-0.60*** (0.11)	-0.28*** (0.05)	0.172 (0.09)	0.08 (0.05)
1.5 generation	-0.34**	-0.16** (0.06)	0.10 (0.11)	0.03 (0.06)
First generation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Years passed since immigration	-0.01** (0.004)	-0.005** (0.002)	0.03*** (0.003)	0.01*** (0.002)
Turkey	-0.73***	-0.30** (0.10)	-0.11 (0.27)	-0.05 (0.12)
Ex-Yugoslavia	-0.73*** (0.21)	-0.29** (0.10)	0.17 (0.27)	0.11 (0.12)
East Europe	-1.06*** (0.25)	-0.45*** (0.11)	0.24 (0.30)	0.12 (0.14)
South Europe	-0.06 (0.21)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.23 (0.27)	-0.12 (0.12)
West Europe	reference	reference	reference	reference
Other	-0.48 (0.27)	-0.17 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.31)	-0.08
Educational background (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational background (inter.)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.17* (0.07)	0.09* (0.03)
Educational background (high)	0.23* (0.11)	0.11*	0.07 (0.10)	0.02 (0.05)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational degree (intermediate)	0.21* (0.08)	0.11** (0.04)	-0.15* (0.08)	-0.08* (0.04)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.10 (0.15)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.07 (0.07)
Not employed	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.008 (0.05)	-0.0002 (0.03)
Low labor market status	reference	reference	reference	reference
Intermediate labor market status	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.17* (0.07)	0.09* (0.04)
High labor market status	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.06 (0.10)	0.03 (0.05)
Self-employed	-0.57 (0.37)	-0.25 (0.17)	0.19 (0.20)	0.11 (0.10)
Language assimilation	-0.93*** (0.10)	-0.45*** (0.05)	1.15*** (0.09)	0.62*** (0.04)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.15 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.04)	0.56*** (0.08)	0.30*** (0.04)
Language separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Language marginalization	-0.40*** (0.07)	-0.18*** (0.03)	0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.03)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.48*** (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.02)	0.61*** (0.04)	0.30*** (0.02)
Social assimilation	-0.43*** (0.09)	-0.20*** (0.04)	0.69*** (0.07)	0.35*** (0.04)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.33*** (0.07)	-0.14*** (0.03)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.15*** (0.03)
Social separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Social marginalization	-0.40 (0.30)	-0.23 (0.14)	-0.09	-0.05 (0.09)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	-0.45*** (0.07)	-0.19*** (0.03)	0.77*** (0.06)	0.36*** (0.03)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference	reference	reference	reference
Discrimination (yes)	0.12* (0.05)	0.06* (0.02)	-0.34*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.02)
Discrimination (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
1993	---	---	reference	reference
1995	---	---	-0.19*** (0.05)	-0.09*** (0.02)
1997	reference	reference	0.09 (0.06)	0.04 (0.03)
1999	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.27*** (0.06)	0.14*** (0.03)
2001	-0.32*** (0.06)	-0.13*** (0.03)	0.56*** (0.06)	0.28*** (0.03)
2003	-0.24*** (0.07)	-0.09** (0.03)	0.53*** (0.07)	0.25*** (0.03)
Person year cases	6356	6356	10291	10291
N	2023	2023	2641	2641
R^2	0.07	0.18	0.12	0.31

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP; 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 4: Random effects (SE) predicting the respondents' German and ethnic minority identifications

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	-0.004*	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)	0.15**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	0.08	(0.07)
Not employed	0.05	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)	0.01	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.001	(0.07)	-0.01	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)	-0.13	(0.34)
Language assimilation	0.77***	(0.06)	-0.63***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.29***	(0.06)	-0.09	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.02	(0.05)	-0.25***	(0.05)
ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	-0.14**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.03	(0.14)	-0.12	(0.16)
Social integration missing	0.10	(0.08)	-0.07	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.45***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.27***	(0.04)	0.12**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-1.19***	(0.34)	---	---
1997	-0.45*	(0.20)	---	---
1999	-0.14	(0.22)	0.47	(0.27)
2001	-0.12	(0.23)	0.04	(0.18)
2003	-0.16	(0.24)	0.08	(0.18)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)
_cons	0.81***	(0.22)	5.11***	(0.19)
Person year cases	10291		6356	
N	2641		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5A: Random effects (SE) from the model including the interaction between years passed since immigration and language integration

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.02***	(0.003)	-0.006	(0.003)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)	0.15**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.07	(0.07)	0.03	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	0.10	(0.07)
Not employed	0.05	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.17**	(0.06)	0.003	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.02	(0.07)	-0.04	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.05	(0.16)	-0.27	(0.34)
Language assimilation	0.75***	(0.07)	-0.61***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.27***	(0.06)	-0.08	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.01	(0.05)	-0.25***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	-0.13**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.03	(0.14)	-0.10	(0.16)
Social integration missing	0.09	(0.08)	-0.06	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.45***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.27***	(0.04)	0.12**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-1.16***	(0.34)	---	---
1997	-0.42*	(0.20)	reference	
1999	-0.13	(0.22)	0.54*	(0.27)
2001	-0.11	(0.23)	0.09	(0.18)
2003	-0.14	(0.24)	0.11	(0.17)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	0.08	(0.05)
Years * language ass.	-0.01*	(0.006)	0.02**	(0.006)
Years * language mi	0.004	(0.006)	-0.008	(0.005)
Years * language mar.	-0.008	(0.005)	0.005	(0.005)
_cons	1.08***	(0.21)	4.97***	(0.18)
Person year cases	10291		6356	
N	2641		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5B: Random effects (SE) from the model including the interaction between generational status and language integration

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.0004	(0.01)	-0.004*	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.03	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.11*	(0.04)	0.14**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	0.09	(0.07)
Not employed	0.05	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)	0.04	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.001	(0.07)	-0.008	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)	-0.15	(0.33)
Language assimilation	0.86***	(0.09)	-0.80***	(0.09)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.31***	(0.07)	-0.04	(0.07)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.01	(0.05)	-0.19***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.19***	(0.05)	-0.14**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.03	(0.14)	-0.11	(0.16)
Social integration missing	0.11	(0.08)	-0.07	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.45***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.28***	(0.04)	0.12**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-1.18***	(0.34)	---	---
1997	-0.45*	(0.20)	reference	
1999	-0.16	(0.22)	0.51	(0.27)
2001	-0.11	(0.23)	0.04	(0.18)
2003	-0.16	(0.24)	0.11	(0.17)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	0.08	(0.05)
1.5 * language ass.	-0.19	(0.24)	-0.04	(0.25)
1.5 * language mi.	-0.03	(0.26)	-0.24	(0.26)
1.5 language mar.	0.33	(0.28)	-0.35	(0.28)
Second * language ass.	-0.02	(0.25)	-0.15	(0.23)
Second * language mi.	0.004	(0.25)	-0.54*	(0.24)
Second * language mar.	0.28	(0.30)	-0.95***	(0.27)
_cons	0.80***	(0.22)	5.06***	(0.20)
N	10291		6356	
	2641		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5C: Random effects (SE) from models including the interaction between language and social integration and inter-ethnic contact

	German identification levels				Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration		Language integration		Social integration	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	0.01***	(0.002)	-0.004*	(0.002)	-0.004*	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.06	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)	-0.11	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)	-0.12*	(0.04)	0.15*	(0.05)	0.15*	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.09	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)	0.07	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	---	---	0.07	(0.07)	0.08	(0.07)
Not employed	0.05	(0.04)	0.05	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.17**	(0.06)	0.17*	(0.06)	0.01	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.002	(0.07)	-0.001	(0.07)	-0.02	(0.06)	-0.02	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)	0.03	(0.16)	-0.13	(0.34)	-0.12	(0.34)
Language assimilation	0.65**	(0.21)	0.77***	(0.06)	-0.43	(0.21)	-0.63***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.49*	(0.25)	0.29**	(0.06)	-0.51*	(0.24)	-0.10	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.06	(0.12)	0.02	(0.05)	-0.27	(0.12)	-0.25***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	0.40	(0.26)	-0.21**	(0.05)	-0.69**	(0.21)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	0.25	(0.16)	-0.14*	(0.05)	0.12	(0.17)
Social separation	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Social marginalization	-0.02	(0.14)	0.27	(0.25)	-0.11	(0.16)	0.11	(0.40)
Social integration missing	0.10	(0.08)	0.10	(0.08)	-0.07	(0.06)	-0.07	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.47***	(0.10)	0.48**	(0.07)	-0.25*	(0.10)	-0.23**	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.28***	(0.04)	-0.28**	(0.04)	0.12**	(0.04)	0.12**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference		---	---	---	---
1995	-1.19***	(0.34)	-1.21***	(0.34)	---	---	---	---
1997	-0.45*	(0.20)	-0.47	(0.20)	reference		reference	
1999	-0.14	(0.22)	-0.16	(0.22)	0.48	(0.27)	0.48	(0.27)
2001	-0.13	(0.23)	-0.13	(0.23)	0.05	(0.18)	0.04	(0.18)
2003	-0.15	(0.24)	-0.17	(0.24)	0.08	(0.18)	0.08	(0.17)
Educational background missing	-0.09	(0.05)	-0.08	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)
Cont. * language/social ass.	0.12	(0.22)	-0.04	(0.27)	-0.21	(0.22)	0.51*	(0.22)
Cont. * language/social mi.	-0.22	(0.26)	-0.08	(0.17)	0.44	(0.25)	-0.28	(0.18)
Cont. * language/social mar.	-0.05	(0.14)	-0.46	(0.33)	0.03	(0.14)	-0.30	(0.48)
_cons	0.79***	(0.23)	0.79***	(0.22)	5.12**	(0.20)	5.11***	(0.19)
Person year cases	10291		10291		6356		6356	
N	2641		2641		2023		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5D: Random effects (SE) from the model including the interaction between ethnic cultural commitment and inter-ethnic contact predicting German identification

	German identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	0.05	(0.04)
Not employed	references	
Low labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)
Intermediate labor market status	0.0002	(0.07)
High labor market status	0.03	(0.16)
Self-employed	0.77***	(0.06)
Language assimilation	0.29***	(0.06)
Language multiple-inclusion	reference	
Language separation	0.02	(0.05)
Language marginalization	0.38***	(0.07)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.36***	(0.05)
Social assimilation	0.18***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	reference	
Social separation	-0.03	(0.14)
Social marginalization	0.10	(0.08)
Social integration missing	0.45***	(0.07)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	reference	
Inter ethnic contact (no	-0.27***	(0.04)
Discrimination (yes)	-0.09	(0.05)
Discrimination (no)	reference	
1993	reference	
1995	-1.19***	(0.34)
1997	-0.45*	(0.20)
1999	-0.15	(0.22)
2001	-0.12	(0.23)
2003	-0.16	(0.24)
Decreasing ethnic cultural commitment* inter-ethnic contact	0.01	(0.07)
_cons	1.82***	(0.21)
Person year cases	10291	10291
N	2641	2641

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5E: Random effects (SE) from models including the interactions between language and social integration and discrimination

	German identification levels				Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration		Language integration		Social integration	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	0.01***	(0.002)	-0.004*	(0.002)	-0.004*	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.06	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.11	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)	-0.11**	(0.04)	0.15**	(0.05)	0.15**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)	0.07	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	---	---	0.08	(0.07)	0.07	(0.07)
Not employed	0.04	(0.04)	0.04	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.17**	(0.06)	0.17**	(0.06)	0.01	(0.06)	0.01	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.003	(0.07)	0.005	(0.07)	-0.01	(0.06)	-0.02	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.04	(0.16)	0.04	(0.16)	-0.12	(0.34)	-0.14	(0.34)
Language assimilation	0.81***	(0.08)	0.76***	(0.06)	-0.69***	(0.08)	-0.62***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.35***	(0.08)	0.29***	(0.06)	-0.07	(0.08)	-0.09	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.07	(0.08)	0.02	(0.05)	-0.26***	(0.08)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.35***	(0.05)	0.47***	(0.07)	-0.21***	(0.05)	-0.24***	(0.07)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	0.27***	(0.07)	-0.14**	(0.05)	-0.12	(0.06)
Social separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.03	(0.14)	-0.24	(0.21)	-0.13	(0.16)	-0.20	(0.24)
Social integration missing	0.11	(0.08)	0.11	(0.08)	-0.07	(0.06)	-0.07	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.45***	(0.06)	0.46***	(0.06)	-0.23***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.27***	(0.08)	-0.18***	(0.05)	0.09	(0.08)	0.11*	(0.05)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference		---	---	---	---
1995	-1.18***	(0.34)	-1.16***	(0.34)	---	---	---	---
1997	-0.45*	(0.20)	-0.46*	(0.20)	reference		reference	
1999	-0.14	(0.22)	-0.14	(0.22)	0.45	(0.27)	0.47	(0.27)
2001	-0.10	(0.23)	-0.13	(0.23)	0.03	(0.18)	0.03	(0.18)
2003	-0.17	(0.23)	-0.14	(0.23)	0.08	(0.18)	0.08	(0.18)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	-0.08	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)	0.08	(0.05)
Disc. * language/social ass.	-0.12	(0.11)	-0.28*	(0.11)	0.15	(0.12)	0.08	(0.11)
Disc. * language/social mi.	-0.15	(0.13)	-0.18	(0.10)	-0.08	(0.13)	-0.04	(0.10)
Disc. * language/social mar.	0.17	(0.12)	0.45	(0.34)	0.03	(0.12)	0.19	(0.40)
_cons	0.79***	(0.22)	0.74***	(0.22)	5.11***	(0.19)	5.12***	(0.19)
Person year cases	10291		10291		6356		6356	
N	2641		2641		2023		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5F: Random effects (SE) from models including the interaction between language and social integration and educational degree predicting German identification

	German identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	0.01***	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.05	(0.10)	-0.07	(0.07)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.10	(0.12)	0.03	(0.12)
Educational degree missing	---	---	---	---
Not employed	0.05	(0.04)	0.05	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16*	(0.06)	0.16**	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.02	(0.07)	0.01	(0.07)
Self-employed	0.02	(0.16)	0.01	(0.16)
Language assimilation	0.80***	(0.07)	0.77***	(0.06)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.37***	(0.08)	0.30***	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.05	(0.06)	0.02	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	0.39***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	0.40***	(0.06)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.19***	(0.05)	0.21***	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.02	(0.14)	-0.02	(0.15)
Social integration missing	0.10	(0.08)	0.09	(0.08)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.44***	(0.06)	0.44***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.28***	(0.04)	-0.28***	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-1.20***	(0.34)	-1.20***	(0.34)
1997	-0.44*	(0.20)	-0.45*	(0.20)
1999	-0.15	(0.22)	-0.15	(0.22)
2001	-0.13	(0.24)	-0.12	(0.24)
2003	-0.16	(0.24)	-0.17	(0.24)
Educational background missing	-0.09	(0.05)	-0.09	(0.05)
Language/social ass. * Ed (inter.)	-0.08	(0.13)	-0.05	(0.11)
Language/social mi* Ed (inter.)	-0.13	(0.15)	-0.12	(0.11)
Language/social mar. * Ed (inter.)	-0.06	(0.19)	-0.14	(0.36)
Language/social ass. * Ed (high)	-0.17	(0.21)	-0.29	(0.16)
Language/social mi. * Ed (high)	-0.44*	(0.18)	-0.12	(0.20)
Language/social mar. * Ed (high)	-0.06	(0.34)	0.41	(0.70)
_cons	0.82***	(0.22)	0.81***	(0.22)
Person year cases	10291		10291	
N	2641		2641	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5G: Random effects (SE) from models including the interactions between language and social integration and labor market status predicting German identification

	German identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	0.01***	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.06	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.09	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	reference		reference	
Not employed	0.02	(0.08)	0.006	(0.06)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.09	(0.14)	0.10	(0.09)
High labor market status	0.21	(0.19)	0.21	(0.12)
Self-employed	-0.18	(0.39)	0.15	(0.24)
Language assimilation	0.65***	(0.11)	0.76***	(0.06)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.27*	(0.12)	0.28***	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.05	(0.09)	0.02	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	0.39***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	0.25*	(0.10)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	0.15	(0.08)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.03	(0.14)	0.50*	(0.25)
Social integration missing	0.09	(0.08)	0.09	(0.08)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.44***	(0.06)	0.45***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.27***	(0.04)	-0.28***	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-1.20***	(0.34)	-1.11**	(0.34)
1997	-0.46*	(0.20)	-0.40*	(0.20)
1999	-0.15	(0.22)	-0.10	(0.22)
2001	-0.14	(0.24)	-0.06	(0.24)
2003	-0.17	(0.24)	-0.14	(0.24)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	-0.09	(0.05)
Not employed * language/social ass.	0.24	(0.14)	0.29*	(0.13)
Not employed *language/social mi.	0.13	(0.16)	0.04	(0.12)
Not employed * language/social mar.	-0.07	(0.12)	-0.66*	(0.33)
Inter. status * language/social ass.	0.20	(0.19)	0.18	(0.18)
Inter. status * language/social mi.	0.04	(0.22)	0.16	(0.16)
Inter. status * language/social mi.	0.14	(0.21)	-0.78	(0.48)
High status * language/social ass	-0.10	(0.23)	-0.24	(0.18)
High status * language/social mi.	-0.28	(0.25)	-0.17	(0.19)
High status * language/social mar.	-0.11	(0.33)	-3.56***	(1.05)
Self-empl. * language/social ass.	0.20	(0.48)	-0.59	(0.54)
Self-empl. * language/social mi.	0.41	(0.57)	-0.006	(0.44)
Self-empl. * language/social mar.	0.24	(0.63)	---	---
_cons	0.85***	(0.22)	0.79***	(0.22)
Person year cases	10291		10291	
N	2641		2641	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5H: Random effects (SE) from models including the interactions between language and social integration and educational background predicting ethnic minority identification

	Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Years passed since immigration	-0.004*	(0.002)	-0.004*	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	0.14**	(0.05)	0.14**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.04	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	0.07	(0.08)	0.08	(0.08)
Not employed	-0.03	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.02	(0.06)	0.01	(0.06)
High labor market status	-0.007	(0.07)	-0.01	(0.07)
Self-employed	-0.14	(0.34)	-0.6	(0.34)
Language assimilation	-0.65***	(0.08)	-0.63***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.06	(0.09)	-0.09	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.17**	(0.06)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.27***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	-0.21***	(0.05)	-0.28***	(0.07)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.14**	(0.05)	-0.11	(0.06)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.12	(0.16)	-0.21	(0.26)
Social integration missing	-0.07	(0.06)	-0.07	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	-0.21***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	0.12**	(0.04)	0.12**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1997	reference		reference	
1999	0.50	(0.27)	0.48	(0.27)
2001	0.03	(0.19)	0.03	(0.19)
2003	0.11	(0.18)	0.10	(0.18)
Educational background missing	0.08	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)
Language/social ass. * Eb (inter.)	0.02	(0.118)	0.15	(0.10)
Language/social mi* Eb (inter.)	-0.06	(0.13)	-0.01	(0.10)
Language/social mar. * Eb (inter.)	-0.21	(0.12)	0.007	(0.37)
Cultural preferences * Eb (inter.)	---	---	---	---
Language/social ass. * Eb (high)	-0.14	(0.15)	0.06	(0.12)
Language/social mi. * Eb (high)	-0.19	(0.16)	-0.12	(0.12)
Language/social mar. * Eb (high)	-0.56**	(0.20)	0.39	(0.41)
Cultural preferences * Eb (high)	---	---	---	---
_cons	5.07***	(0.19)	5.10***	(0.19)
Person year cases	6356		6356	
N	2023		2023	

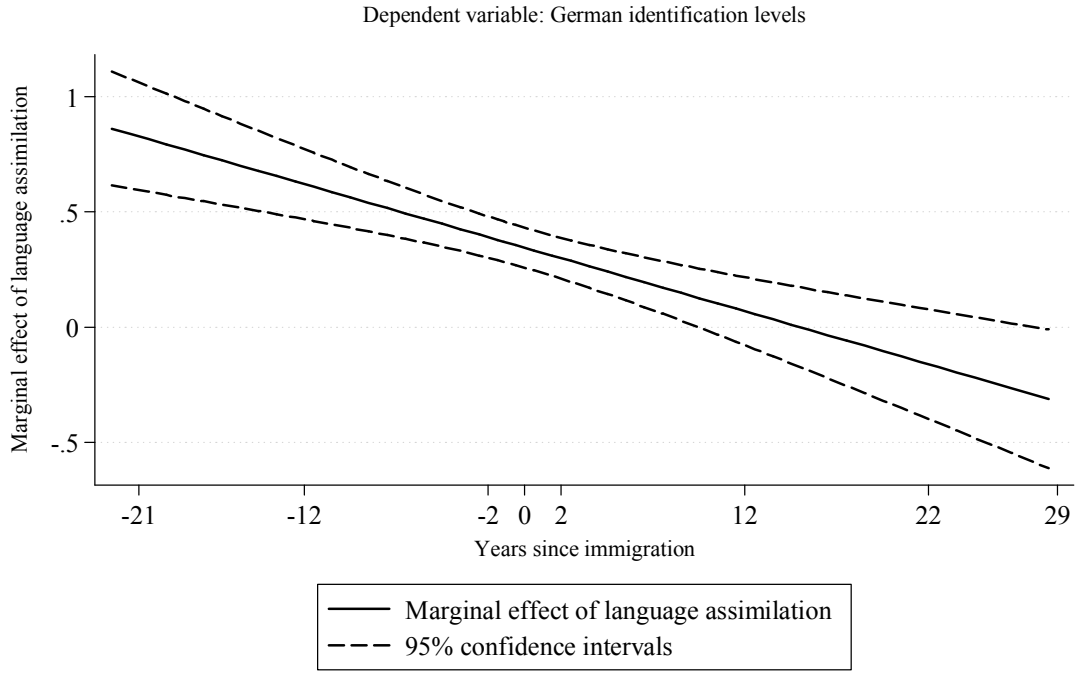
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 5I: Random effects (SE) from the model including the interaction between language integration and educational degree predicting ethnic minority identification

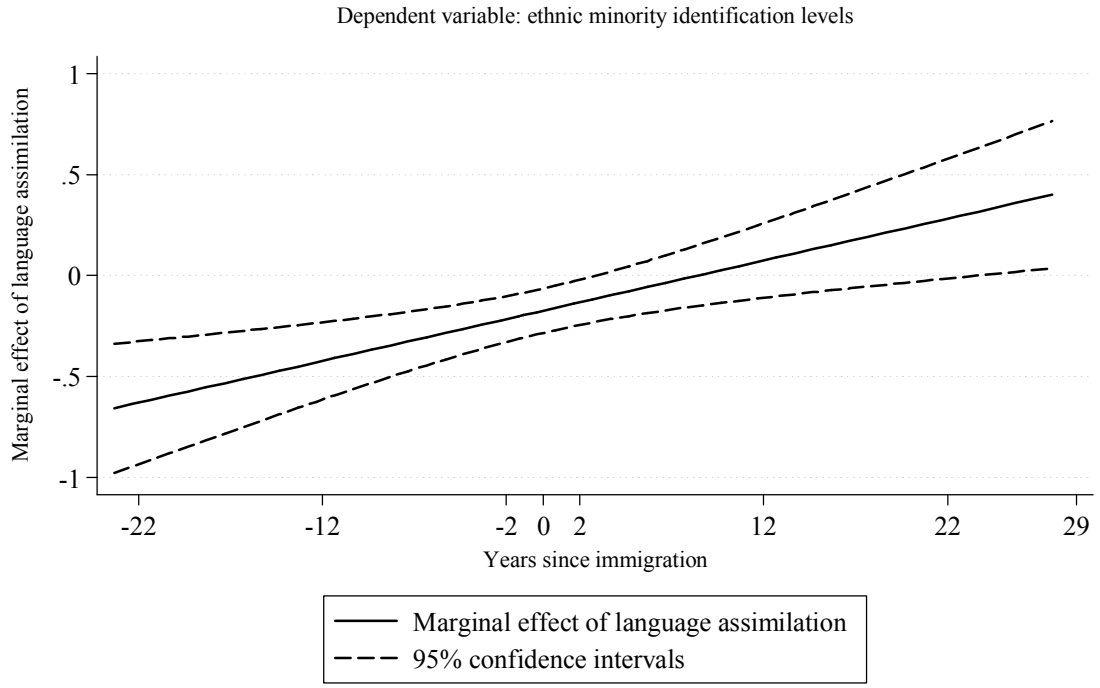
	Ethnic minority identification levels	
	Language integration	
Years passed since immigration	-0.004*	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	-0.09	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	0.11	(0.10)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.17	(0.12)
Educational degree missing	0.08	(0.08)
Not employed	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.02	(0.06)
High labor market status	-0.04	(0.07)
Self-employed	-0.10	(0.34)
Language assimilation	-0.72***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.07	(0.08)
Language separation	reference	
Language marginalization	-0.27***	(0.06)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	-0.22***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.14**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference	
Social marginalization	-0.12	(0.16)
Social integration missing	-0.07	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference	
Discrimination (yes)	0.12**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference	
1997	reference	
1999	0.49	(0.27)
2001	0.08	(0.19)
2003	0.08	(0.18)
Educational background missing	0.08	(0.05)
Language/social ass. * Ed (inter.)	0.18	(0.13)
Language/social mi* Ed (inter.)	-0.10	(0.15)
Language/social mar. * Ed (inter.)	0.009	(0.19)
Cultural preferences * Ed (inter.)	---	---
Language/social ass. * Ed (high)	0.64***	(0.19)
Language/social mi. * Ed (high)	0.20	(0.17)
Language/social mar. * Ed (high)	0.18	(0.31)
Cultural preferences * Ed (high)	---	---
_cons	5.14***	(0.19)
Person year cases	6356	
N	2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 6A: Marginal effect of language assimilation as the number of years since immigration passes predicting the respondents' German identification levels



Appendix 6B: Marginal effect of language assimilation as the number of years since immigration passes predicting the respondents' ethnic minority identification levels



(Source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7A: Random effects (SE) predicting the respondents' German and ethnic minority identifications (three ethnic background categories)

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	-0.003	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	-0.09	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)	0.14**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	0.08	(0.07)
Not employed	0.04	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)
High labor market status	-0.008	(0.07)	0.01	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)	-0.11	(0.34)
Language assimilation	0.77***	(0.06)	-0.62***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.28***	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.02	(0.05)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	-0.14**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.03	(0.14)	-0.10	(0.16)
Social integration missing	0.10	(0.08)	-0.05	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.45***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.27***	(0.04)	0.10*	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)				
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-1.22***	(0.34)	---	---
1997	-0.46*	(0.20)	reference	
1999	-0.15	(0.22)	0.47	(0.27)
2001	-0.13	(0.23)	0.04	(0.18)
2003	-0.19	(0.23)	0.10	(0.18)
Educational background missing	-0.09	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)
_con	0.84***	(0.20)	5.03***	(0.17)
Person year cases	10291		6356	
N	2641		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7B: Random effects (SE) from models including the interactions between ethnic background, inter-ethnic contact and discrimination

	German identification levels				Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Inter-ethnic contact		Discrimination		Inter-ethnic contact		Discrimination	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	0.01***	(0.002)	-0.003	(0.002)	-0.003	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.09	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)	-0.12**	(0.04)	0.14**	(0.05)	0.15**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)	0.07	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	---	---	0.08	(0.07)	0.08	(0.07)
Not employed	0.04	(0.04)	0.05	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)	0.16**	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)
High labor market status	-0.009	(0.07)	-0.007	(0.07)	0.02	(0.06)	0.007	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)	0.04	(0.16)	-0.11	(0.34)	-0.12	(0.34)
Language assimilation	0.78***	(0.06)	0.77***	(0.06)	-0.63***	(0.07)	-0.62***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.29***	(0.06)	0.28***	(0.06)	-0.06	(0.06)	-0.06	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.03	(0.05)	0.02	(0.05)	-0.24***	(0.05)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)	-0.28***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.37***	(0.05)	0.36***	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)	-0.21***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	0.18***	(0.05)	-0.14**	(0.05)	-0.14**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.04	(0.14)	-0.02	(0.14)	-0.10	(0.16)	-0.09	(0.16)
Social integration missing	0.09	(0.08)	0.10	(0.08)	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.06	(0.066)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.49***	(0.10)	0.44***	(0.06)	-0.25*	(0.11)	-0.23***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.28***	(0.04)	-0.32***	(0.07)	0.11**	(0.04)	0.11	(0.07)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference		reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference		---	---	---	---
1995	-1.20***	(0.34)	-1.23***	(0.34)	---	---	---	---
1997	-0.46*	(0.20)	-0.46*	(0.20)	reference		reference	
1999	-0.15	(0.22)	-0.15	(0.22)	0.45	(0.27)	0.48	(0.27)
2001	-0.12	(0.23)	-0.14	(0.23)	0.03	(0.18)	0.03	(0.18)
2003	-0.18	(0.23)	-0.18	(0.23)	0.09	(0.18)	0.11	(0.18)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	-0.09	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)	0.10	(0.05)
Contact /disc.* Turkey	-0.002	(0.12)	0.15	(0.09)	-0.05	(0.13)	0.08	(0.10)
Contact /disc * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.06	(0.15)	-0.08	(0.10)	0.15	(0.16)	0.003	(0.12)
Contact /disc.* Rest	-0.49*	(0.23)	0.03	(0.12)	0.23	(0.22)	-0.27*	(0.12)
_cons	0.80***	(0.21)	0.87***	(0.20)	5.07***	(0.19)	5.04***	(0.17)
Person year cases	10291		10291		6356		6356	
N	2641		2641		2023		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7C: Random effects (SE) from models including the interactions between ethnic background, educational background and educational degree, predicting ethnic minority identification

	Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Educational background		Educational degree	
Years passed since immigration	-0.003	(0.002)	-0.003	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration	-0.09	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	0.15**	(0.05)	0.08	(0.08)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.06	(0.07)	0.09	(0.13)
Educational degree missing	0.07	(0.07)	0.08	(0.07)
Not employed	-0.03	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.01	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.06)	0.009	(0.06)
Self-employed	-0.15	(0.34)	-0.06	(0.34)
Language assimilation	-0.63***	(0.07)	-0.62***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.04	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.24***	(0.05)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.27***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	-0.19***	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.14**	(0.05)	-0.14**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.11	(0.16)	-0.11	(0.16)
Social integration missing	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.06	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	-0.23***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	0.10*	(0.04)	0.10*	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1997	reference		reference	
1999	0.47	(0.27)	0.49	(0.27)
2001	0.02	(0.19)	0.05	(0.19)
2003	0.12	(0.18)	0.11	(0.18)
Educational background missing	0.09	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)
Turkey * intermediate edu.b/edu.d	-0.11	(0.08)	0.13	(0.11)
Ex-Yugos. * intermediate edu.b/edu.d	0.06	(0.09)	0.16	(0.12)
Rest * intermediate edu.b/edu.d	-0.10	(0.12)	0.004	(0.13)
Turkey * high edu.b/edu.d	0.24*	(0.11)	-0.17	(0.21)
Ex-Yugos. * high edu.b/edu.d	0.28*	(0.12)	-0.20	(0.23)
Rest * high edu.b/edu.d	0.13	(0.13)	0.01	(0.16)
_cons	5.04***	(0.17)	5.03***	(0.17)
Person year cases	6356		6356	
N	2023		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7D: Random effects (SE) from the model including the interaction between ethnic background and labor market status

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	-0.002	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	-0.09	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.13**	(0.04)	0.16***	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.09	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	0.07	(0.07)
Not employed	0.12	(0.07)	-0.12	(0.07)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.22*	(0.10)	-0.08	(0.10)
High labor market status	0.12	(0.10)	-0.02	(0.09)
Self-employed	-0.06	(0.21)	-0.03	(0.45)
Language assimilation	0.76***	(0.06)	-0.62***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.30***	(0.06)	-0.07	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.03	(0.05)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	-0.20***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	-0.13**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.03	(0.14)	-0.10	(0.16)
Social integration missing	0.11	(0.08)	-0.06	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.43***	(0.06)	-0.21***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.28***	(0.04)	0.11**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		---	---
1995	-1.20***	(0.34)	---	---
1997	-0.44*	(0.20)	reference	
1999	-0.13	(0.22)	0.46	(0.26)
2001	-0.11	(0.23)	0.05	(0.18)
2003	-0.17	(0.23)	0.08	(0.18)
Educational background missing	-0.09	(0.05)	0.09	(0.05)
Not employed * Turkey	-0.10	(0.10)	0.18	(0.10)
Inter. status * Turkey	0.07	(0.14)	0.13	(0.15)
High status * Turkey	-0.16	(0.18)	-0.11	(0.16)
Self-employed * Turkey	0.50	(0.36)	-0.76	(1.02)
Not employed * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.15	(0.12)	0.04	(0.12)
Inter. status * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.17	(0.16)	0.03	(0.17)
High status * ex-Yugoslavia	0.09	(0.18)	-0.10	(0.18)
Self-employed * ex-Yugoslavia	-0.18	(0.55)	-0.39	(0.96)
Not employed * Rest	-0.15	(0.15)	0.22	(0.14)
Inter. status * Rest	-0.41	(0.21)	0.42*	(0.20)
High status * Rest	-0.52**	(0.18)	0.33*	(0.16)
Self-employed * Rest	-0.72	(0.88)	0.61	(1.03)
_cons	0.77***	(0.20)	5.08***	(0.17)
Person year cases	10291		6356	
N	2641		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7E: Random effects (SE) from models including the interactions between ethnic background, language and social integration, predicting German identification

	German identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	0.01***	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.13**	(0.04)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.08	(0.07)	-0.10	(0.07)
Not employed	0.04	(0.04)	0.04	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)	0.17**	(0.06)
High labor market status	0.01	(0.07)	-0.006	(0.07)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)	0.02	(0.16)
Language assimilation	0.73***	(0.09)	0.78***	(0.06)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.44***	(0.10)	0.29***	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.03	(0.09)	0.03	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	0.40***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.37***	(0.05)	0.35***	(0.08)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)	0.21**	(0.07)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	0.009	(0.14)	-0.16	(0.30)
Social integration missing	0.11	(0.08)	0.07	(0.08)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.45***	(0.06)	0.44***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.28***	(0.04)	-0.28***	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-1.17***	(0.34)	-1.21***	(0.34)
1997	-0.41*	(0.20)	-0.46*	(0.20)
1999	-0.15	(0.22)	-0.14	(0.22)
2001	-0.11	(0.23)	-0.11	(0.23)
2003	-0.15	(0.23)	-0.18	(0.23)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	-0.08	(0.05)
Turkey * Language/social ass.	0.03	(0.11)	0.01	(0.12)
Turkey * Language/social mi.	-0.24	(0.15)	0.05	(0.10)
Turkey * Language/social mar.	0.06	(0.12)	-0.25	(0.52)
Ex-Yugos.. * Language/social ass.	0.13	(0.13)	0.09	(0.13)
Ex-Yugos. * Language/social mi.	0.08	(0.15)	-0.18	(0.12)
Ex-Yugos. * Language/social mar.	0.20	(0.14)	0.25	(0.36)
Rest * Language/social ass.	0.10	(0.16)	-0.15	(0.13)
Rest * Language/social mi.	-0.54***	(0.16)	-0.17	(0.16)
Rest * Language/social mar.	0.02	(0.20)	-0.04	(0.47)
_cons	0.81***	(0.20)	0.82***	(0.20)
Person year cases	10291		10291	
N	2641		2641	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7F: Random effects (SE) from models including the interactions between ethnic background, language and social integration, predicting ethnic minority identification

	Ethnic minority identification levels			
	Language integration		Social integration	
Years passed since immigration	-0.003	(0.002)	-0.003	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	-0.11	(0.07)	-0.09	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	0.15**	(0.05)	0.15**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.02	(0.07)	0.06	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	0.06	(0.07)	0.07	(0.07)
Not employed	-0.04	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.008	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)
High labor market status	-0.008	(0.06)	0.03	(0.06)
Self-employed	-0.15	(0.34)	-0.08	(0.34)
Language assimilation	-0.60***	(0.10)	-0.63***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	-0.08	(0.10)	-0.06	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	-0.04	(0.09)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	-0.27***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	-0.20***	(0.05)	-0.28***	(0.08)
Social multiple-inclusion	-0.14**	(0.05)	-0.11	(0.07)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.11	(0.16)	0.56	(0.29)
Social integration missing	-0.05	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	-0.22***	(0.06)	-0.23***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	0.11**	(0.04)	0.10**	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1997	reference		reference	
1999	0.43	(0.27)	0.45	(0.27)
2001	0.03	(0.18)	0.02	(0.18)
2003	0.09	(0.17)	0.10	(0.18)
Educational background missing	0.09	(0.05)	0.10	(0.05)
Turkey * Language/social ass.	-0.09	(0.11)	0.02	(0.12)
Turkey * Language/social mi.	-0.09	(0.15)	-0.03	(0.10)
Turkey * Language/social mar.	-0.34**	(0.12)	-1.48**	(0.47)
Ex-Yugos. * Language/social ass.	0.19	(0.13)	-0.008	(0.43)
Ex-Yugos. * Language/social mi.	-0.08	(0.15)	-0.05	(0.12)
Ex-Yugos. * Language/social mar.	-0.23	(0.14)	-0.97*	(0.42)
Rest * Language/social ass.	-0.25	(0.16)	0.38**	(0.12)
Rest * Language/social mi.	-0.29*	(0.15)	0.07	(0.14)
Rest * Language/social mar.	-0.35	(0.18)	-0.42	(0.43)
_cons	4.99***	(0.18)	5.05***	(0.17)
Person year cases	6356		6356	
N	2023		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7G: Random effects (SE) from the model including the interaction between ethnic background, and the years passed since immigration predicting German identification

	German identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.003)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.12**	(0.04)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.10	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---
Not employed	0.04	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)
High labor market status	-0.008	(0.07)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)
Language assimilation	0.77***	(0.06)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.28***	(0.06)
Language separation	reference	
Language marginalization	0.02	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.18***	(0.05)
Social separation	reference	
Social marginalization	-0.02	(0.14)
Social integration missing	0.10	(0.08)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.45***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no	reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.27***	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference	
1993	reference	
1995	-1.22***	(0.34)
1997	-0.45*	(0.20)
1999	-0.17	(0.22)
2001	-0.12	(0.23)
2003	-0.18	(0.24)
Educational background missing	-0.09	(0.05)
Turkey * years passed since immigration	-0.003	(0.004)
Ex-Yugoslavia * years passed since immigration	0.002	(0.005)
Rest * years passed since immigration	0.0002	(0.005)
_cons	1.12***	(0.19)
Person year cases	10291	
N	2641	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 7H: Random effects (SE) from the model including the interaction between ethnic background and generational status

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Years passed since immigration	0.01***	(0.002)	-0.002	(0.002)
Years passed since immigration missing	0.05	(0.07)	-0.09	(0.07)
Educational degree (no to basic)	reference		reference	
Educational degree (intermediate)	-0.13**	(0.04)	0.15**	(0.05)
Educational degree (post sec.)	-0.09	(0.07)	0.03	(0.07)
Educational degree missing	---	---	0.07	(0.07)
Not employed	0.04	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
Low labor market status	reference		reference	
Intermediate labor market status	0.16**	(0.06)	0.02	(0.06)
High labor market status	-0.002	(0.07)	0.001	(0.06)
Self-employed	0.03	(0.16)	-0.18	(0.34)
Language assimilation	0.77***	(0.06)	-0.63***	(0.07)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.28***	(0.06)	-0.05	(0.06)
Language separation	reference		reference	
Language marginalization	0.01	(0.05)	-0.24***	(0.05)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.39***	(0.03)	-0.27***	(0.03)
Social assimilation	0.36***	(0.05)	-0.19***	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.19***	(0.05)	-0.14**	(0.05)
Social separation	reference		reference	
Social marginalization	-0.02	(0.14)	-0.13	(0.16)
Social integration missing	0.10	(0.08)	-0.05	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (yes)	0.44***	(0.06)	-0.22***	(0.06)
Inter ethnic contact (no)	reference		reference	
Discrimination (yes)	-0.27***	(0.04)	0.10*	(0.04)
Discrimination (no)	reference		reference	
1993	reference		reference	
1995	-1.22***	(0.34)	---	---
1997	-0.46*	(0.20)	---	---
1999	-0.16	(0.22)	0.42	(0.27)
2001	-0.11	(0.23)	0.02	(0.18)
2003	-0.20	(0.23)	0.08	(0.18)
Educational background missing	-0.08	(0.05)	0.03	(0.07)
1.5 * Turkey	0.31**	(0.11)	-0.20	(0.11)
Second * Turkey	-0.12	(0.08)	0.004	(0.08)
1.5 * ex Yugoslavia	0.20	(0.17)	-0.06	(0.18)
Second * ex Yugoslavia	-0.0005	(0.10)	0.22*	(0.10)
1.5 * rest	0.43*	(0.21)	-0.69***	(0.19)
Second* rest	0.03	(0.18)	-0.37*	(0.18)
_cons	0.85***	(0.20)	5.02***	(0.17)
Person year cases	10291		6356	
N	2641		2023	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 8:Multinomial regression models with all six ethnic background groups

	Separation as reference			Marginalization as reference			Assimilation as reference		
	Ass.	Mul.	Mar.	Ass	Mul	Sep	Mul	Mar	Sep
female	1.19	1.01	1.00	1.19	1.01	0.99	0.85	0.84	0.84
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Male	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Second generation	1.81***	1.13	1.94***	0.93	0.58**	0.51***	0.62*	1.07	0.55***
	(0.32)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.10)
1.5 generation	1.16	0.66	1.19	0.97	0.55*	0.84	0.57*	1.03	0.86
	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.17)
First generation	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Years since immigration	1.03***	1.03***	1.01**	1.01	1.02*	0.98**	1.007	0.989	0.97***
	(0.01)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Turkey	1.53	0.48*	2.48***	0.615	0.19***	0.40***	0.31***	1.63	0.65
	(0.48)	(0.16)	(0.65)	(0.185)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.49)	(0.20)
Ex-Yugoslavia	1.84*	0.61	2.33**	0.788	0.26***	0.43**	0.33***	1.27	0.54*
	(0.55)	(0.19)	(0.61)	(0.225)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.36)	(0.16)
East Europe	2.29*	0.70	3.12***	0.732	0.22***	0.32***	0.30**	1.37	0.44*
	(0.81)	(0.28)	(0.93)	(0.246)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.46)	(0.15)
South Europe	0.93	0.39**	1.07	0.871	0.37**	0.94	0.42**	1.15	1.07
	(0.28)	(0.12)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.12)	(0.24)	(0.12)	(0.33)	(0.32)
West Europe	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Other	0.94	0.77	2.32**	0.41*	0.33*	0.43**	0.82	2.47*	1.06
	(0.42)	(0.34)	(0.76)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.43)	(1.07)	(0.47)
Educational background (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational background (inter.)	1.21	1.21	1.19	1.02	1.027	0.84	1.00	0.98	0.83
	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Educational background (high)	1.030	1.14	0.78	1.32	1.47	1.28	1.11	0.76	0.97
	(0.177)	(0.24)	(0.11)	(0.22)	(0.32)	(0.18)	(0.25)	(0.12)	(0.17)
Educational degree (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational degree (inter.)	0.74*	0.84	0.87	0.85	0.96	1.15	1.14	1.18	1.35*
	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.21)	(0.16)	(0.19)
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.67	1.02	1.26	0.54**	0.81	0.79	1.51	1.87**	1.48
	(0.17)	(0.28)	(0.24)	(0.13)	(0.22)	(0.15)	(0.44)	(0.45)	(0.38)
Not-employed	1.134	1.09	1.06	1.07	1.03	0.95	0.96	0.93	0.88
	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Low labor market status	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference

Appendix 8: continued									
Intermediate- labor market status	1.23	1.54*	1.34**	0.92	1.15	0.75**	1.26	1.09	0.81
	(0.19)	(0.30)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.238)	(0.08)	(0.25)	(0.17)	(0.137)
High labor market status	1.13	1.251	1.15	0.99	1.09	0.87	1.10	1.01	0.88
	(0.20)	(0.272)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.12)	(0.25)	(0.17)	(0.15)
Language assimilation	5.13***	3.09***	2.05***	2.50***	1.51	0.49***	0.602*	0.40***	0.19***
	(0.88)	(0.63)	(0.26)	(0.43)	(0.32)	(0.06)	(0.137)	(0.07)	(0.03)
Language multiple-inclusion	1.74**	2.17***	1.32*	1.31	1.64*	0.76*	1.243	0.76	0.57**
	(0.30)	(0.39)	(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.32)	(0.09)	(0.270)	(0.13)	(0.10)
Language Separation	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Language marginalization	0.99	0.71	1.45***	0.68*	0.49**	0.69***	0.72	1.47*	1.01
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.15)
Social assimilation	2.78***	2.01***	1.39**	2.00***	1.45*	0.72**	0.72	0.50***	0.36***
	(0.41)	(0.35)	(0.16)	(0.29)	(0.25)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.05)
Social multiple-inclusion	1.50**	0.962	1.55***	0.96	0.62*	0.64***	0.64*	1.04	0.67**
	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.09)
Social separation	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Ethnic cultural commitment	2.37***	1.57***	1.44***	1.65***	1.09	0.69***	0.66***	0.61***	0.42***
	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.03)
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	2.91***	3.16***	1.58***	1.84**	2.001*	0.63***	1.09	0.54**	0.34***
	(0.54)	(0.85)	(0.15)	(0.36)	(0.56)	(0.06)	(0.35)	(0.11)	(0.06)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
Discrimination (yes)	0.62***	0.59***	0.94	0.66***	0.63***	1.07	0.95	1.51***	1.61***
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.16)
Discrimination (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
1997	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
1999	1.10	1.25	1.15	0.96	1.09	0.87	1.14	1.04	0.91
	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.19)	(0.07)	(0.21)	(0.12)	(0.09)
2001	1.60***	1.62**	1.51***	1.06	1.08	0.66***	1.01	0.94	0.62***
	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.06)	(0.19)	(0.12)	(0.07)
2003	1.51***	1.52*	1.17	1.29*	1.30	0.85	1.004	0.77*	0.66***
	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.08)	(0.20)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Person year cases	6348	6348	6348	6348	6348	6348	6348	6348	6348
n	2016	2016	2016	2016	2016	2016	2016	2016	2016

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 9: Simulation based predicted probabilities unclustered data

	Assimilation	Marginalization	Multiple Inclusion	Separation
Gender				
Female	0.12*	0.31	0.07	0.49
Male	0.10	0.32	0.07	0.50
Generational status				
First generation	0.10	0.32	0.07	0.50
1.5 generation	0.11	0.36	0.05*	0.47
Second generation	0.13*	0.44*	0.06	0.36*
Years passed since immigration	0.10	0.32	0.07	0.50
Ethnic background				
Turkey	0.10	0.32*	0.07	0.50*
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.12*	0.29*	0.09	0.49*
South Europe	0.08	0.18	0.08	0.65
Educational background				
Educational background (low)	0.13	0.34	0.08	0.45
Educational background (intermediate)	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49*
Educational background (high)	0.13	0.26*	0.09	0.51
Educational degree				
Educational degree (low)	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Educational degree (intermediate)	0.10*	0.30	0.07	0.53*
Educational degree (post sec.)	0.08*	0.38*	0.07	0.47
Labor market status				
Not employed	0.13	0.31	0.08	0.47
Low labor market status	0.12	0.32	0.07	0.49
Intermediate labor market status	0.13	0.36	0.10	0.42*
High labor market status	0.13	0.32	0.09	0.46
Language integration				
Language assimilation	0.31*	0.32	0.12*	0.25*
Language multiple-inclusion	0.16*	0.31	0.13*	0.39*
Language separation	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Language marginalization	0.11	0.40*	0.05*	0.44*
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.10	0.32	0.07	0.50
Social integration				
Social assimilation	0.24*	0.31	0.10*	0.35*
Social multiple-inclusion	0.15	0.40*	0.06	0.40*
Social separation	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49
Inter-ethnic contact				
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.12*	0.31*	0.07*	0.49*
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	0.06	0.27	0.03	0.64
Discrimination				
Discrimination (yes)	0.08*	0.33	0.05*	0.54*
Discrimination (no*)*	0.12	0.31	0.07	0.49

* $p<0.05$ (Source: GSOEP 1997-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 10A: Information about the ethnic background of respondents' partners

	Partner born in Germany					
	Six waves sample			Four waves sample		
	Yes	No	No information	Yes	No	No information
Partner's ethnic background*	10.87%	16.95%	59.16%	13.01%	31.91%	55.08%
Turkey	1.09%	18.98%	---	0.87%	19.80%	---
Ex-Yugoslavia	---	3.23%	---	---	3.74%	---
South Europe	0.17%	6.92%	---	---	7.91%	---
Rest	---	0.7%	---	---	0.45%	---
No information	98.54%	---		99.13%		

(source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)
*Mothers' country of origin is used for foreign born partners

Appendix 10B: Ethnic background of the respondents' partners

	Six waves sample				Four waves sample			
	Respondents' ethnic background				Respondents' ethnic background			
Partner's ethnic background*	Turkey	Ex Yugo.	South Europe	Rest	Turkey	Ex Yugo.	South Europe	Rest
Germany	4.96%	7.98%	19.40%	4.88%	6.07%	9.18%	23.48%	3.23%
Turkey	44.96%	-		-	47.23%	---	---	---
Ex-Yugoslavia	-		0.36%	9.76%	---	19.01%	0.30%	9.68%
South Europe	0.24%	-	18.6%	-	---	---	21.21%	---
Rest	0.24%	-	0.81%	2.44%	0.5%	---	0.60%	---
No information	50%	75%	60.5%	82.93%	46.15%	72%	54.39%	87.10%

(source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 11A: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) predicting their German and ethnic minority identification levels

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Educational degree (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational degree (inter. to high)	-0.24**(0.08)	-0.24**(0.08)	0.24**(0.07)	0.241**(0.08)
Educational degree (missing)	0.08(0.14)	0.084(0.14)	0.15(0.12)	0.15(0.12)
Not employed	0.23*(0.11)	0.22*(0.11)	-0.18(0.10)	-0.18(0.10)
Labor market status (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Labor market status (inter.)	0.49***(0.12)	0.49***(0.12)	-0.22(0.12)	-0.22(0.12)
Labor market status (high)	0.40**(0.14)	0.38**(0.14)	-0.15(0.12)	-0.14(0.12)
Language assimilation	0.95***(0.14)	0.95***(0.14)	-0.69***(0.14)	-0.70***(0.14)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.37*(0.15)	0.37*(0.16)	-0.21(0.15)	-0.23(0.15)
Language separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Language marginalization	0.68***(0.13)	0.68***(0.14)	-0.76***(0.12)	-0.77***(0.13)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.42***(0.05)	0.42***(0.05)	-0.33***(0.05)	-0.33***(0.05)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.46**(0.16)	0.47**(0.16)	-0.20(0.14)	-0.21(0.15)
Discrimination (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Discrimination (yes)	-0.26***(0.08)	-0.26***(0.08)	0.24**(0.08)	0.25**(0.08)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.29**(0.09)	0.29**(0.10)	-0.21*(0.10)	-0.20(0.11)
Social separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Social marginalization	0.18*(0.08)	0.18*(0.08)	-0.13(0.09)	-0.12(0.09)
Social integration (missing)	---	---	0.13(0.10)	-0.01(0.10)
Did not leave	reference	reference	reference	reference
Leave	-0.06(0.07)	---	0.11(0.07)	---
Leave unknown	---	-0.03(0.08)	---	0.08(0.07)
Leave marriage	---	-0.12(0.10)	---	0.19*(0.09)
Leave education/labor market	---	-0.35(0.49)	---	-0.153(0.38)
_cons	0.50*(0.22)	0.49*(0.22)	5.27***(0.21)	5.26***(0.21)
N	769	769	570	570
Person year cases	2945	2945	1768	1768

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)

Appendix 11B: Hybrid OLS regression coefficients (SE) predicting German and ethnic minority identification levels including mother's ethnic identification and the interactions

	German identification levels		Ethnic minority identification levels	
Educational degree (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Educational degree (inter. to high)	-0.23**(0.07)	-0.23**(0.07)	0.20**(0.07)	0.20**(0.07)
Educational degree (missing)	-0.03(0.13)	-0.04(0.13)	0.12(0.12)	0.13(0.12)
Not employed	0.23*(0.10)	0.23*(0.10)	-0.17(0.10)	-0.17(0.10)
Labor market status (low)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Labor market status (inter.)	0.47***(0.12)	0.48***(0.12)	-0.23(0.12)	-0.22(0.12)
Labor market status (high)	0.45***(0.13)	0.45***(0.13)	-0.15(0.11)	-0.14(0.12)
Language assimilation	0.78***(0.14)	0.78***(0.14)	-0.61***(0.13)	-0.62***(0.14)
Language multiple-inclusion	0.25(0.15)	0.25(0.15)	-0.17(0.14)	-0.19(0.14)
Language separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Language marginalization	0.55***(0.13)	0.56***(0.13)	-0.70***(0.12)	-0.71***(0.12)
Ethnic cultural commitment	0.38***(0.05)	0.37***(0.05)	-0.32***(0.05)	-0.32***(0.05)
Social assimilation	0.25**(0.09)	0.25**(0.09)	-0.21*(0.10)	-0.21*(0.10)
Social multiple-inclusion	0.17*(0.08)	0.17*(0.08)	-0.15(0.09)	-0.15(0.09)
Social separation	reference	reference	reference	reference
Social integration (missing)	---	---	-0.01(0.10)	-0.01(0.10)
Inter-ethnic contact (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Inter-ethnic contact (yes)	0.36*(0.16)	0.37*(0.16)	-0.14(0.14)	-0.15(0.14)
Discrimination (no)	reference	reference	reference	reference
Discrimination (yes)	-0.19*(0.07)	-0.18*(0.07)	0.20**(0.08)	0.19*(0.08)
Mother's German identification levels	0.30***(0.06)	0.31***(0.07)	0.03(0.05)	0.05(0.06)
Mother's ethnic minority identification levels	-0.05(0.07)	-0.09(0.08)	0.27***(0.06)	0.32***(0.07)
Mother's German identification levels (missing)	-0.66(0.62)	-0.63(0.62)	-0.84(0.93)	-0.88(0.93)
Mother's ethnic minority levels (missing)	0.45(0.62)	0.42(0.62)	1.07(0.93)	1.11(0.93)
Did not leave	reference	reference	reference	reference
Leave	-0.03(0.07)	-0.03(0.07)	0.06(0.07)	0.06(0.07)
Mother's German identification levels*leave	---	-0.03(0.12)	---	-0.03(0.10)
Mother's ethnic minority identification levels*leave	---	0.12(0.15)	---	-0.13(0.12)
_cons	0.87***(0.21)	0.85***(0.21)	5.07***(0.20)	5.08***(0.20)
N	769	769	570	570
Person year cases	2945	2945	1768	1768

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (source: GSOEP 1993-2003; own analysis)